Athena Itonia: Geography and Meaning of an Ancient Greek War Goddess

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Athena Itonia: Geography and Meaning of an Ancient Greek War Goddess

By

Gerald V. Lalonde

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ΣΕ ΟΛΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΦΙΛΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ

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Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAA	*Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν*
AFLPer(*class*)	*Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Perugia. 1, Studi classici*
Agora	*The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton:
	Agora III = R.E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, 1957
	Agora XI = E.B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, 1965
	Agora XIV = H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center*, 1972
	Agora XVI A.G. Woodhead, *Inscriptions: The Decrees*, 1997
	Agora XVII D.W. Bradeen, *Inscriptions: The Funerary Monuments*, 1974
	Agora XIX G.V. Lalonde, M.K. Langdon, and M.B. Walbank, *Inscriptions: Horoi; Poletai Records; Leases of Public Lands*, 1991
	Agora XXVIII A.L. Boegehold *et al., The Lawcourts at Athens: Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedures, and Testimonia*, 1995
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
Anecd. Bekk.	*Anecdota Graeca*, ed. I. Bekker, 3 vols. Berlin 1814–1821
AnnInst	*Annales Institutorum*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, eds. H. Temporini and W. Haase, Berlin—New York, 1972–
ANSMN	*American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*
AntCl	*L'Antiquité classique*
Anth. Pal.	*Anthologia Palatina*
Anthropologika	*Ἀνθροπολογικά* (Volos)
APF	J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.* Oxford 1971
ArchDelt	*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
ArchEph	*Ἀρχαιλογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1910–
ARV^2	J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. Oxford 1963

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ΑΣΑ	Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή Αμοργού
ASNSP	*Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pia—Classe di Scienze*
Αθήναιον	*Αθήναιον*: Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν, Athens, 1872–1882
ATL	*The Athenian Tribute Lists*, eds. B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery, M.F. McGregor, 4 vols. Cambridge, MA/Princeton, NJ. 1939–1953
BABesch	*Bulletin antieke beschaving*: Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BÉFAR	*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*
Beloch, *GrG*^{2}	K.J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 4 vols. 2nd ed. Strassburg, Berlin / Leipzig, 1912–1927
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*
BM	*British Museum*
BMC	*A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, ed. R.S. Poole, London 1873–
Boreas	*Boreas*: Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie
Brill's NPAnt	*Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*, eds. H. Cancik, H. Schneider, Leiden / Boston 2002–2010
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
BullÉp	*Bulletin épigraphique*. Published in *REG*
Busolt-Swoboda	G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, 3rd ed. Munich 1920–1926
CahÉtAnc	*Cahiers des études anciennes*
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1st series, Cambridge 1923–1939
CAH^2	*The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd series, Cambridge 1970–
Chiron	*Chiron*: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
CID	*Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*, 4 vols., Paris 1977–
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CNRS	*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
DAA	A.E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, MA. 1949
Demetrias I	*Die deutschen archäologischen Forschungen in Thessalien, Demetrias* I, eds. V. Milojcic & D. Theocharis, Bonn 1976
Dodone	*Δωδώνη, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἰωαννίνων*. Ioannina

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EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale* (Rome 1958–1984)
Electrum	*Electrum*: Journal of Ancient History, Krakow
EphArch	*Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1837–1909
Ergon	*Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
Etym. Magn.	*Etymologicum Magnum*
FdD	*Fouilles de Delphes, École française d'Athènes*, Paris
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923–
GGR^2	M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2nd. ed., Munich 1955
GGR^3	M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 3rd. ed., Munich 1967–1974
Gnomon	*Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft*
Gomme, *HCT*	A.W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 5 vols (4–5 with A. Andrewes and K.J. Dover), Oxford 1945–1981
G&R^2	*Greece and Rome* (Second Series)
GRBM	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
Grenfell-Hunt	B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia cum Theopompi et Cratippi Fragmentis*, Oxford 1909
HCP	F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3 vols. Oxford 1957–1979
Hell. Oxy.	*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, M. Chambers, ed., Stuttgart 1993
Hermes	*Hermes*: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
Hesperia	*Hesperia*: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
Historia	*Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, Stuttgart
HN^2	*Historia Nummorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*. Enlargement of edition of 1887. eds. B.V. Head, G.F. Hill, G. Macdonald, and W. Wroth, Oxford 1911
Hornblower, *CT*	S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, 3 vols. Oxford and New York 1991–2008
Horos	*Ὅρος : ένα αρχαιογνωστικό περιοδικό*. Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐπιγραφικὴ Ἑταιρεῖα, Athens
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IACP	*An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*. eds. M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen, Oxford 2004
ICr	*Inscriptiones Creticae*, ed. Margherita Guarducci. 4 vols. Rome 1935–1950.

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IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*
IThesp	P. Roesch, *Les inscriptions de Thespies*, eds. G. Argoud, A. Schachter, and G. Vottéro, Lyon 2007
Jacoby, *Marm. Par.*	F. Jacoby [1904] 1980. *Das Marmor Parium*, edition and commentary, repr. Chicago
Jahrb. für Philol	*Jahrbuch für Philologie*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSav	*Journal des Savants*
ΚΑΘ	ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΘΕΣΕΩΝ (Catalogue of Archaeological Sites) in Theocharaki 2015, pp. 348–414
Kernos	*Kernos*: Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique, Liège
Klio	*Klio*: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly, Lexikon der Antike, auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, 5 vols. Stuttgart 1964–1975. Repr. Munich 1979
Ktèma	*Ktèma*: Civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques, Strasbourg
L'Année	*L'Année philologique; bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine*. 1928–, ed. J. Marouzeau, Paris
Lauffer	*Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. S. Lauffer, Munich 1989
LGPN	*A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, 5 vols, in 7; eds. P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, Oxford 1987–2013
LGS	*Lyrica Graeca Selecta*, ed. D. L. Page, Oxford 1968
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, I–VIII and indices and supplements, Zurich / Munich 1981
Lobel-Page	*Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, eds. E. Lobel and D. Page, Oxford 1955 [repr. 1963]
LSAG	L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, rev. ed. with supplement by A. Johnston, Oxford 1990
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, *et al., A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th Edition with Revised Supplement, Oxford 1996.
LSSupp.	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément* (École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'école et de divers savants, XI) Paris 1962

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MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Antiquité*
Meletemata	*Meletemata*: Athen Kentron Ellenikes kai Romaikes Archaiotetos
MHR	*Mediterranean Historical Review*, London
Michel	C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Brussels 1900
Minos	*Minos*: Revista de Filología Egea, Salamanca
Mnemosyne	*Mnemosyne*: Bibliotheca classica batava
MonPiot	*Monuments et mémoires. Fondation E. Piot*
Müller, *Bildkomm*. 1	D. Müller, *Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots*: vol. 1, *Griechenland*, Tübingen 1987
Müller, *Dorier*^{2}, II	K.O. Müller, *Geschichten hellenischer Stämme und Städte*, 2nd ed. with F.W. Schneidewin, vol. 3 (part II of *Die Dorier*), Breslau 1844
MusHelv	*Museum Helveticum*
Myth. Gr.	*Mythographi Graeci*, I–III, ed. N. Festa, Teubner, Leipzig 1894–1902
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
Neue Pauly	*Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, eds. H. Cancik and H. Schneider, Stuttgart 1996–2003
NJbb	(*Neue*) *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik; Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum; Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*.
NM	National Archaeological Museum of Athens
NumAntCl	*Numismatica e antichità classiche: Quaderni ticinesi*
OCD^4	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th ed., ed. S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow, Oxford 2012
ÖJh	*Jarhreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
Opuscula (*SIAR*)	*Opuscula*: Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome, Stockholm
Osborne and Rhodes, *GHI*	R. Osborne and P.J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 478–404 B.C.* Oxford 2017
GHI	*404–323 B.C.* Oxford 2003
PA	*Prosopographia Attica*, ed. J. Kirchner, Berlin
PAA	*Persons of Ancient Athens*, ed. J.S. Traill, Toronto, 1992–
Past and Present	*Past and Present*: A Journal of Historical Studies, Oxford University Press
PCG	*Poetae Comici Graeci*, 8 vols. eds. R. Kassel and C. Austin, Berlin / New York 1960
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*

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PECS	*The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, eds. R. Stillwell, W.L. MacDonald, M.H. McAllister, Princeton 1976
PHI	Packard Humanities Institute
Philippson *GL*	A. Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften: eine Landeskunde*, 4 vols, rev. ed. of H. Lehmann and E. Kirsten, Frankfurt a. M 1950–1959
Phoenix	*Phoenix*: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada
Plethon	Georgios Gemistos Plethon, *Selecta: Politik, Philosophie und Rhetorik im spatbyzantinischen Reich*, 1355–1452, translation and commentary of W. Blum, Stuttgart 1988
PMG	*Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D.L. Page, Oxford 1962
Polemon	*Polemon*: Journal of World Heritage Encyclopedia
Prakt	*Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
ProcBritAc	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
Radt	*Strabons Geographika*: mit Übersetzung und Kommentar / herausgegeben von S. Radt. 10 vols., Göttingen 2002–2011
RBPhil	*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*
RÉA	*Revue des études anciennes*
RE	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RendIstLomb	*Rendiconti: Istituto Lombardo. Accademia di scienze e lettere*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
Rhodes and Osborne,	P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne. *Greek Historical Inscriptions,*
RivFil	*Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*
RN	*Revue numismatique*
Robert *OMS*	Robert, L. 1969–1990. *Opera minora selecta: Épigraphie et antiquités grecques*, 7 vols., Amsterdam
Roesch *Éb*	P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes*, Paris 1982
Roscher *Lex.*	*Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 6 vols. ed. W. H. Roscher, Leipzig 1884–1936
RPAA	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*
RPhil	*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
RSA	*Rivista storica dell'Antichità*. Bologna
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden and Amsterdam
Segré *ED*	*Documenti pubblici* (ED) in: *Inscrizioni di Cos* I, pp. 11–171
SEIA	*Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze Archeologiche e Storiche dell'Università de Macerata*

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SGDI	*Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, vols. I–IV, eds. F. Bechtel and H. Collitz, Göttingen 1884–1915
SNG	*Sylloge nummorum graecorum*, British Academy, London 1931–
SNG Berry, pt. 1	*Sylloge nummorum graecorum, Burton Y. Berry Collection*, part 1, Macedonia to Attica (ed. M. Thompson). Publication of The American Numismatic Society. New York 1961
SNG Cop. 3	*Sylloge nummorum graecorum, Copenhagen: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum*, Vol. 3—Greece: Thessaly to Aegean Islands
SNG Newcastle	*Sylloge nummorum graecorum*, Vol. XIII: *Collection of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle upon Tyne*, Oxford 2005
Steph. Byz.	Stephan von Byzanz: Ethnika / Stephani Byzantii Ethnicorum quae supersunt ex recensione Augusti Meinekii. Graz 1958; reprint of ed. Berlin 1849
StudKunstOst	*Studien zur Kunst des Ostens, J. Strzygowski zum sechzigsten Geburtstage von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, Wien-Hellerau 1923
Syll^{2}	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, I–III, ed. W. Dittenberger, 2nd ed. Leipzig 1898–1901
Syll^{3}	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum,* I–IV, ed. W. Dittenberger, 3rd ed. Leipzig 1913 [reprint; *nunc quartum edita*, Hildesheim 1960]
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
Teiresias	*Teiresias*: Review and bibliography of Boeotian Studies, McGill University
Teseo e Romolo	*Teseo e Romolo: Le origini di Atene e Roma a confronto: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene; Atene, 30 giugno–1 iuglio 2003*. ed. E. Greco. Athens 2005
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, I–VI, Los Angeles
Θεσσαλικά	*Φιλάρχαιος Εταιρεία Βόλου*
ΘΗ	*Θεσσαλικὸ Ἡμερολόγιο*
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*
Tod, *GHI*	M.N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2 vols. Oxford 1933 and 1948
Topografia di Atene	*Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dalle origini al III secolo d. C., vol. 2: Colline sud-occidentali—Valle dell' Ilisso*, ed. E.A. Greco et al., Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Athens / Paestum
Travlos, *Athens*	I. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971
Travlos, *Attika*	I. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988

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Vierneisel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen*	Glyptothek München: *Katalog der Skulpturen*. Band II / Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. / bearbeitet von Barbara Vierneisel-Schlörb, Munich 1979
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften*	Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften*. 5 vols., Berlin 1937–
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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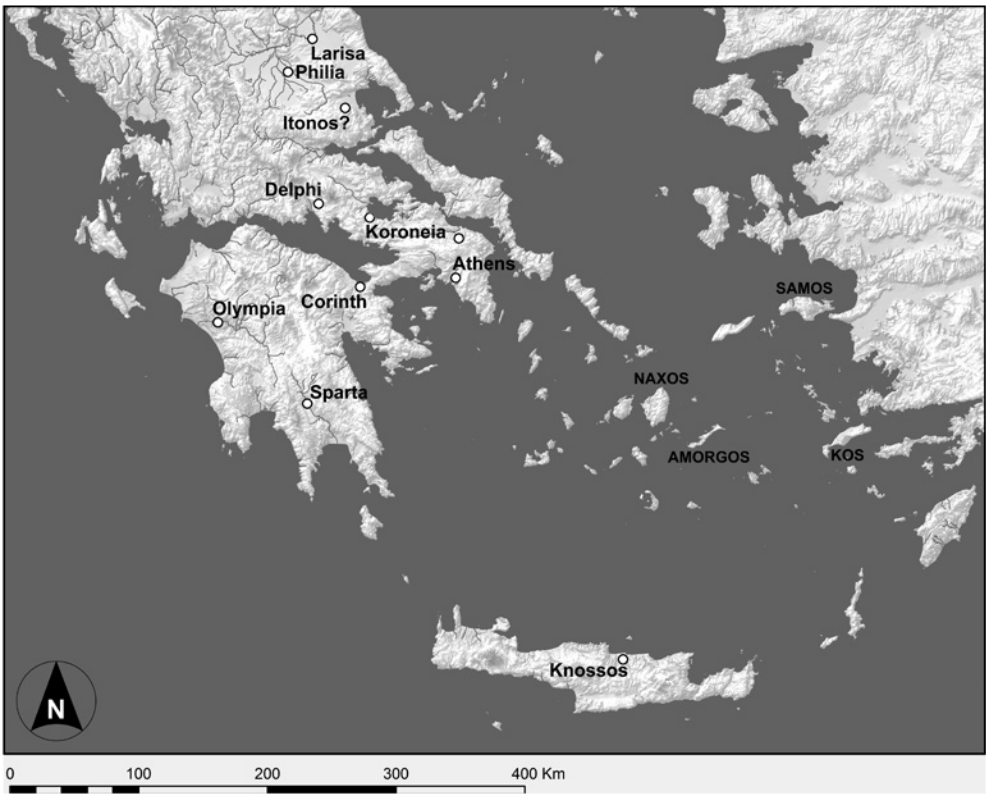

MAP 1 Greece and the Aegean Sea

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Introduction

Like most studies of ancient Greek religion, *Athena Itonia: Geography and Meaning of an Ancient Greek War Goddess* relies for its content and structure on a wide range of primary sources and the work of many archaeologists and philologists. These scholars served in some cases as direct fonts of material and ideas and in many cases as models of methodology. Their passim credits in this book convey my aspirations and debt.

This history exemplifies the not uncommon evolution of books from small beginnings. It started as curiosity about the byname Itonia[1] in a fragmentary horos inscription (Agora I 7047) found loose in the American excavations of the ancient Athenian agora. T. Leslie Shear Jr.[2] first published Benjamin Meritt's restoration, [Ἀθ]εναίας/ [Ἰτ]ονείας, a reading accepted in a summary edition of horoi in *The Athenian Agora* XIX.[3] Although a later Corpus edition of the text (*IG* I^3 1049) disagreed on orthographical grounds with Meritt's restoration of the byname, there are good reasons, as noted below in Chapter Three, to retain the text of the *editio princeps.* This interest in Athena Itonia led me to three other brief mentions of the goddess in Attic epigraphy, a literary reference to an Itonian gate in the ancient Athenian city wall, and the idea of writing an article about this minor Athenian cult. That plan was soon overridden with my learning of significant evidence of the Itonian cult in three other regions of Greece, namely, Thessaly, Boiotia, and the Cycladic island of Amorgos. I eventually undertook this comprehensive study of Athena Itonia, with chapters on each of the four regions where major evidence of the cult has come to light, ordering the chapters according to the anterior chronology of the evidence of each region (See Map 1). While there are articles and portions of books on the subject of Athena Itonia, this is the first monograph devoted solely to her cult.

Evidence of a single Greek religious cult is in some cases so plentiful that its treatment in a single volume would have to be distilled to encyclopedic data. However, the extant evidence of Athena Itonia is thinly enough scattered, geographically from Central Greece to the Cyclades and chronologically from the Greek Dark Ages to Roman imperial times, that it allows substantive

1 In the present work the term "byname" is used as an English equivalent of the Greek word ἐπίκλησις, which some translate as "surname," "cognomen," "title," "second name" or "additional name." Others call the ἐπίκλησις an "epithet," which, in the terminology of literature, has a wider meaning.

2 Shear 1969, p. 417.

3 *Agora* XIX (1991), p. 22, H1, pl. 1, (I 7047); see below, Fig. **1.**

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commentary and analysis on numerous questions, some of them still without definitive answer. Dividing the treatment of the Itonian cult according to geography, *ethnos*, and polity does not result in four strictly independent studies, but rather in a flexible and continuous structure that allows the author and the reader comparative observations and inquiries across such sub-topics as the origin and propagations of the cult, and the character, sanctuaries, festivals, and rituals of the Itonian goddess. The limited remnants of the cult also permit close and comprehensive examination of relevant literature, epigraphy, topography, architecture, dialects, and the iconography of coins, vase painting, and sculpture, varieties of evidence that in this case often corroborate one another. This eclectic focus is in the venerable tradition of L.R. Farnell's omnibus of Greek cult,[4] A.B. Cook's treatise on Zeus of many cults,[5] and Jane Ellen Harrison's multiple tomes on Greek religion,[6] or, with the advantage of newer discoveries and later scholarship, in the manner of Albert Schachter's overview of the cults of Boiotia.[7]

Of primary concern in the study of Athena Itonia are the beginnings of her cult, its propagation to the regions of its evidence, and, in the cases of Thessaly and Boiotia, its propagation within those locales. Since the byname Itonia is known only of Athena, and, in view of the common proliferation of individual cults throughout Greece and thus the likelihood that the Itonian cult existed in places where its evidence still lies buried, there are obviously direct or indirect connections among the appearances of Athena Itonia in the known geographical and political regions of her worship. The directions, circumstances, and chronologies of her propagation are in no case fully known, but the present work considers various general and specific hypotheses about the cult's introduction in the mode of Robert Garland's study of new gods at Athens.[8] Conceivably Itonia was a deity of non-Greek origin, but such hypotheses fail of cogent evidence. Most scholarship names Thessaly or Boiotia as the birthplace of Athena Itonia because both have tales of the cult in association with early ethnic migration and nation-building.[9] Some writers have recently sidestepped this ambiguity by leaving the question as a *non liquet* or assigning the cult's origin more generally to Central Greece. In the present volume I argue anew

4 Farnell [1896–1909] 1977.
5 Cook 1914–1940.
6 Harrison 1890; 1903; 1912; 1921; 1922.
7 Schachter 1981–1994.
8 Garland 1993.
9 My ventures into the political context of Thessalian and Boiotian cult owe much to the works of J.A.O. Larsen (1955; [1955] 1966; 1960a; 1968). Models of Thessalian studies in general are the writings of Bruno Helly (e.g., 1973; 1984; 1991; 1995; 2000).

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the Thessalian hypothesis and the early suggestion of Martin Nilsson[10] that Athena Itonia was a hybrid of the Olympian martial goddess and a primitive minor deity or heroine named Itonia ("Maid of Iton") after her origin in a town of southeast Thessaly, Homer's "Iton, mother of flocks"[11] or Strabo's Itonos with its nearby sanctuary of Athena.[12] Thessaly's claim to the proto-cult of Itonia and its geographical proximity to Boiotia make it the likeliest source of the cult's southward transmission, but despite Boiotia's tradition of its adoption in prehistoric time, the earliest firm evidence of the cult's presence there are the references of Archaic poets to Athena's sanctuary and games near the city of Koroneia. Thessaly has long been proposed as the source also of the Itonian cult at Athens[13] and more recently a religious amphiktyony has been suggested as its conduit there.[14] The third chapter of *Athena Itonia* adds to these propositions a specific context for adoption of the cult at Athens in the deployment there of allied Thessalian cavalry during the tyranny of Peisistratos. The comparative isolation of the Itonian cult on the island of Amorgos and the relative lateness of its evidence there in Hellenistic inscriptions complicate explanation of its transmission. One essay argues for an origin in Boiotia, and though most respondents look to colonists from Thessaly, that fertile region limited foreign settlements largely to entrepots for its grain export. Since the Itonian cult of Thessaly was well known in the far reaches of the Aegean Sea, we consider whether her worship came from the *metropoleis* of Amorgos, the islands of Naxos and Samos. Finally, Amorgos' membership in the Delian League and the Second Maritime Confederacy largely antedate the Itonia inscriptions of Amorgos, but Athens' longterm influence on the island makes it another viable candidate as the source of the cult.

Topographical surveys and excavations are the chief initiatives for locating precincts of the Itonian cult mentioned in literature and inscriptions, be they temples (*neoi*) or, within larger boundaries, sanctuaries (*hiera* or *temenê*). The earliest quest for a physical domain of Athena Itonia began in the 19th and early 20th centuries in southeast Thessaly, where ventures by the soldier-antiquarian

10 Nilsson 1906, p. 86.

11 *Il.* 2.696.

12 Strabo 9.5.8 (433),14 (435). Since some modern editors and commentators (e.g. Stefan Radt) still use the textual divisions of the Casaubon edition (AD 1620) of Strabo, passages are cited in the present work by that form of reference alongside the more common modern form.

13 E.g., Preller and Robert 1894, vol. 1, p. 86 n. 1, p. 121 n. 3, p. 214 n. 3; see also Farnell [1896–1909] 1977, vol. 1, p. 301.

14 Parker 1996, p. 28 and n. 64.

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Col. William M. Leake,[15] the self-taught scholar Nikolaos Giannopoulos,[16] and A.J.B. Wace and his English colleagues,[17] searched for the Iton of Homer and Strabo's Itonos with its neighboring Itoneion. Despite failing those goals, these investigations added much to our knowledge of ancient Thessaly. Before investigation in southeast Thessaly went dormant, Giannopoulos and the German scholar Friedrich Stählin[18] made epigraphical and topographical discoveries that redirected the search for Athena Itonia to Thessaly's southwest tetrad Thessaliotis. This evidence pointed to the neighborhood of the modern village of Philia, where in the 1960s serendipitous finds and subsequent excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service under Demetrios Theocharis revealed a large sanctuary of Athena Itonia.[19] Though all the known realms of Athena Itonia give information about her sanctuaries, the Philia site with its wealth of architecture and artifacts dating from prehistoric times to the Roman imperial period remains the only proven sanctuary of Athena Itonia unearthed in Greece and the greatest single archaeological contribution to the study of her cult.[20] Its discovery has reheated the questions, "What and where is Itonos?", yet unresolved controversies that are laid out below in Chapters One and Two.

There are claims of proximate and exact locations of the chief Itonian shrine of the Boiotians noted by Strabo and Pausanias near ancient Koroneia, but this site too has eluded certain identification, despite the excavations of Theodoros Spyropoulos,[21] the skills in epigraphy, topography, cult, and military history of W. Kendrick Pritchett,[22] and the topographical studies of J.M. Fossey.[23] Chapter Three on Athens shows that although we are still unable to find the Itonian *temenos* implicit from four inscriptions, detailed topographical research yields its approximate location in the Ilissos district southeast of the walled city. Among the models and resources for that research, as for all investigation of Athenian cultic sites, are the old but still indispensible works of Carl Wachsmuth[24] and Walther Judeich,[25] those of their 20th-century

15 Leake [1835] 1967.
16 Giannopoulos 1890, 1891, 1892, 1894, 1925–1926,1927–1928a, 1927–1928a, 1932, 1934–1935.
17 Wace, Droop, and Thompson 1907–08; Wace and Thompson 1912.
18 Stählin 1906; 1924.
19 Theocharis 1961–1962; 1963; 1964; 1965; 1967.
20 For the movable finds of the Philia sanctuary, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 2005.
21 Spyropoulos 1972; 1973a; 1975 [1977].
22 Pritchett 1965–1992, II, pp. 85–95 and pls. 57–61.
23 Fossey 1974; 1988.
24 Wachsmuth 1874.
25 Judeich 1905; 1931.

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counterparts, R.E. Wycherley[26] and John Travlos,[27] and in the present century the treatises of Anna Maria Theocharaki[28] and Leda Costaki.[29] The reportage about shrines of Athena Itonia is similar for Amorgos, where, despite numerous inscriptional references to an Itonian precinct and two centuries of study by French and Greek archaeologists, no verifiable temple or shrine of Athena Itonia has been found.

In the matter of Athena Itonia's character, it must be noted that her byname is not a linguistic clue to any of her attributes, despite such claims as that refuted in the Appendix to this book. Most writers about the Itonian goddess agree that in all of her known locales she is predominantly a martial deity, though Apollonios in his *Argonautika* adds to this guardian of Jason some poetic touches of the peaceful crafts seen in other cults and myths of Athena. As a military and protective deity, Athena Itonia would have received more civic than domestic worship, though the finds from the sanctuary near Philia suggest that she received votives from a variety of worshippers and that her shrine was also a place of devotion to kindred deities. In Boiotia, Athena Itonia's martial cult at Koroneia was allied, if not descended from or identified, with the worship nearby of Athena Alalkomeneia ("the warder off"), and her military presence in Athens would have been thought complementary rather than redundant with the major cults of Athena Polias and Athena Nike. Although old cults sometimes waned, the fact that new ones proliferated in a climate of complex social and political organization is well documented in J. D. Mikalson's work on the religion of Hellenistic Athens[30] and the inscribed sacrificial calendar of the Attic deme Erchia (ca. 375–350 BC) with its account of forty-three different gods and heroes.[31] Epigraphic evidence suggests that the Itonian cult and festival were preeminent at the Amorgian *poleis* of Arkesine and Minoa because these cities lacked the cult of Athena Polias, whereas Aigiale, the remaining *polis* of the island, worshipped Athena as Polias but has yielded no evidence of Athena Itonia.

The chief controversy about Athena Itonia's nature, and the subject of lengthy analysis in our chapter on Boiotia, grows out of Strabo's "*lectio difficilior*" that the male statue by Agorakritos at the Koroneian sanctuary was Hades rather than the Zeus of Pausanias' account. Strabo's testimony by itself has spawned a variety of claims about chthonic entities of Boiotian or

26 Wycherley, *Agora* III (1957); 1978.
27 Travlos 1960; *Athens* (1971).
28 Theocharaki 2007; 2011; 2015.
29 Costaki 2006; Kostaki 2009.
30 Mikalson 1998.
31 *SEG* XXI 541.

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Thessalian origin that have inevitably but unconvincingly impinged upon the cultic history and character of Athena Itonia herself.

Any study of ancient Greek religious cult entails the often hard, sometimes impossible, task of judging whether evidence conveys history or distorted traditions, poetic and prose fiction, and mythic structures in the guise of history. Nevertheless, many sources that are to the educated reader clearly irrational or anachronistic present just another kind of history in the sense that they are what individuals, societies, or political groups believed or wish to be believed. A common motive in generating and receiving such traditions about religious cult is the establishment of collective identity and, more particularly, ethnic identity, popular socio-historic topics in modern studies of ancient Greece. In this process of self-identification the conceived unity of social and political communities is reinforced by the acceptance of religious thought and lore from the past or present and from both indigenous and external sources. A prime example in our research is the common intermixing of Thessalian and Boiotian mythical traditions of Itonia's genealogy to enhance collective identify. The present study touches on these topics with regard to evidence of the Itonia cult, and mainly with reference to the monographs of Stephanie Larson on collective identity in Boiotia of the Archaic and early Classical periods[32] and of Denver Graninger on cult and *koinon* in ancient Thessaly.[33] Although these works focus widely on the means of collective identification, both pay significant passim attention to the unifying role of Athena Itonia in their respective regions of Central Greece, and both can be read as fine introductions to the topic of collective identity, its terminology, and its bibliography.

While *Athena Itonia* does not examine its subject through any particular theoretical lens, it is more than a descriptive history. To the extent that it could be termed theoretical, it shares approaches with the pioneering sociology of Emilé Durkheim's functional structuralism, which views evidence mainly as objective social structures to which humans react.[34] In the realm of religion then, individuals or communities perform certain functions within an ordained set of structures with the purpose of gaining or maintaining a favorable relationship with perceived super-natures in regard to any sphere of human concern. Though ancient Greece was remarkable for thinkers who had a more scientific and agnostic view of the cosmos, the majority of Greeks operated within a religion of numberless cults, divided and subdivided among deities of many bynames. There was no separation of religion and state, no single

32 Larson 2007.

33 Graninger 2008; 2011.

34 See, e.g., Durkheim 1915.

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scripture, theology, or hierarchical priesthood, but a multitude of priests and priestesses whose duties were chiefly to oversee the host of cult sanctuaries. Within this structural frame the faithful sought a reciprocity in which their ritual functions of prayer, sacrifice, and votive offerings would bring divine favor. In the cult of a martial deity such as Athena Itonia, the hope was that these rituals would result in aid and protection against hostile human forces. A hypothetical but cogent example of this process is laid out below in the chapter on Amorgos with the argument that the immense festival sacrifices to Athena Itonia recorded in extant decrees of the Hellenistic period were supplications for the protection of citizens and maritime commerce from the ravages of piracy that beset the Cycladic Islands following collapse of the naval powers that policed the Aegean Sea. Readers of this book will find another feature that is rather "old-fashioned," namely, a more than usual attention to scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This interest does not match the volume of William M. Calder's devotion to the modern history of classical scholarship,[35] but it is in the spirit of his work and with good reason. The history of old scholarship on any subject, though often overlooked, is usually interesting in itself, and it is fair to observe in the research of our early precursors the underpinnings of our own. Most importantly, we often find in these vintage works material that deserves repeating or offers clues to useful new thinking on the subject.

35 See Calder III, 1984.

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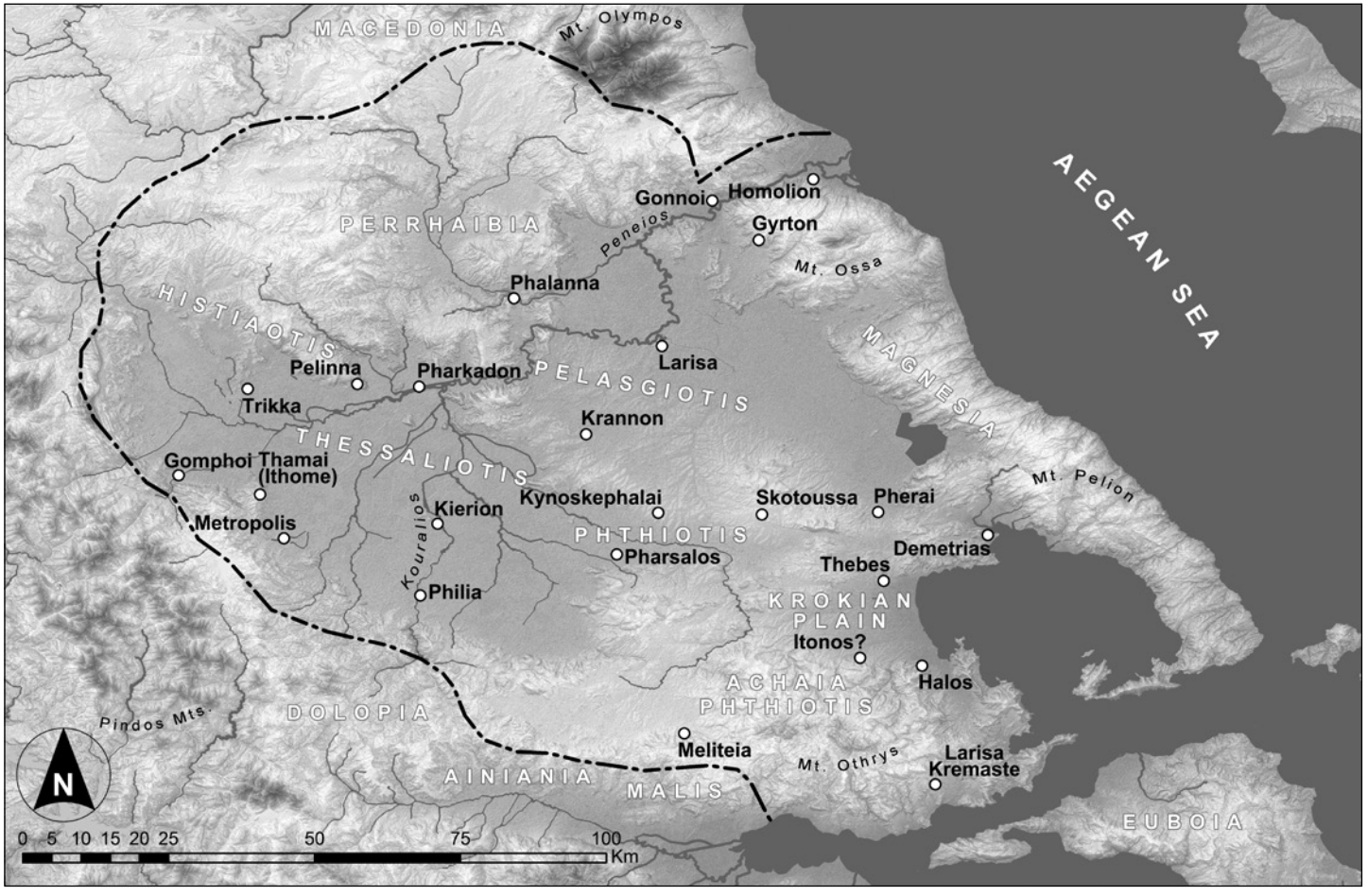

MAP 2 Thessaly

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CHAPTER 1

Thessaly

1 The Thessalian Precedence of Athena Itonia[1]

A scholion to *The Argonautika* of Apollonios of Rhodes notes that the early Greek logographer Hekataios of Miletos wrote about the Thessalian goddess Ἰτωνία in Book One of his *Histories*.[2] Although there are no extant details of the logographer's account of the deity, the antiquity of this and other literary testimony persuaded many early and modern scholars that Thessaly was the original *Heimstätte* and *Hauptkultstätte* of Athena Itonia.[3] Although archaeological discoveries of the 20th century have tended to corroborate the early presence of the Itonian cult in at least one region of Thessaly, the evidence for its Thessalian origin is not absolutely probative, and during the past two decades some scholars have reassessed the question of the regional and local origins of the cult, arguing either that the question should be left open or, in view

1 At the outset of this chapter I should make clear my use of terminology with regard to the *ethnê* and geography of Thessaly (See Map 2). In any consideration of the history of the ancient peoples who inhabited the large geographical area commonly called Thessaly (pre-Greek peoples, an early stratum of Aiolic-speaking Greeks, invaders from the west or northwest, lower-caste *penestai*, and neighboring *perioikoi*) and the shifts of power among *ethnê*, *poleis*, and *koina*, the terms "Thessaly" and "Thessalian" are potentially ambiguous. Where there is no risk of ambiguity I sometimes use "Thessaly" and "Thessalian" as wide geographical terms that refer not only to the four main regions (*tetrades*) of Thessaliotis, Histiaiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis but also to the surrounding perioikic regions, but where geographical or political clarity requires it, I distinguish these entities. Although it is often impossible to be certain about the chronology and historicity of the traditions of distinct ethnic groups of indigenous Aiolians and invading *Boiotoi* and *Thessaloi* residing in Thessaly, I try to make some reasonable, if sometimes qualified, distinctions.

2 Hecat. *FGrH* 1 F 2 (*Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* 1.551a): Θεσσαλικῆς Ἰτωνίας, περὶ ἧς Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν λέγει.

3 E.g., Roscher *Lex*. vol. 2.1, 1890–1894, cols. 567–568, s.v. Itonia (O. Höfer); *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2374, s.v. Itonia (A. Adler); Farnell, [1896–1909] 1977, vol. 1, p. 301. The term "precedence" in this section's title reflects the hypotheses that the earliest known evidence of the cult of Itonia or Athena Itonia is found in Thessaly, that the cult probably originated there, and therefore that its presence in other regions of Greece is the result of direct or indirect propagations from Thessaly. Whether this term could also refer to the preeminent importance of Athena Itonia among Thessalian cult deities is debatable. Although there is no explicit statement from antiquity that Athena with the byname Itonia was the Thessalian deity *par excellence*, the sum of archaeological and literary evidence has persuaded scholars that her cult was among the foremost in this region of Greece; see, e.g., Burrer 1993, p. 49.

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of Alkaios' seventh-century testimony to a highly developed cult and festival of Athena Itonia in Boiotian Koroneia, answered with the general thesis that the cult originated at some undetermined time in Central Greece, eventually focusing on the cult centers of Thessalian Philia and Boiotian Koroneia and ultimately spreading to other places in the Greek world.[4] New hypotheses that are argued on the basis of more and new evidence are welcome in any debate, but the present section of this chapter argues that the traditional view, that the worship of Itonia or Athena Itonia originated in Thessaly in association with a place called Iton or Itonos, while not probative, still weighs heaviest among assessments of the origins of the cult. Another sense of the precocious Thessalian devotion to Athena Itonia is the thesis that her cult is the oldest attested in Thessaly,[5] an assertion that is nevertheless barely compatible with the possibility that Thessaly was not its birthplace.

The foremost circumstantial evidence for Thessaly as the original site of the cult of Athena Itonia is the unique sum and variety there of cognate *Iton*-stem terms and entities associated with Itonia as a distinct deity or Athena with the byname Ἰτωνία. These terms are the place-names Ἴτων and Ἴτωνος, a month Ἰτώνιος, the festival τὰ Ἰτώνια, and a mythical hero Ἴτωνος. As will be seen in the following chapters, of the three other places in ancient Greece where we have significant evidence of the cult of Athena Itonia, namely, Boiotia, Athens, and Amorgos, none matches Thessaly in the variety, numbers, and longevity of this "Itonian" nomenclature.

The most basic circumstantial evidence for the origin of the cult of Itonia or Athena Itonia in Thessaly is toponymic, evidence of a sort that tends to have some stability over time. Iton and Itonos are place-names that seem to be peculiarly Thessalian[6] and are assigned by ancient authors to the perioikic district of Achaia Phthiotis in the southeast of Thessaly.[7] Homer's *Catalogue of*

4 See, e.g., Maria Mili 2015, pp. 230–232 and nn. 91 and 92, for hypothetical scenarios of the cult's propagation from central Greece, including the possibility that it was an amphictionic cult that spread to various peoples of that region and beyond. On the Itonian sanctuaries at Philia and Koroneia in Boiotia, see below, respectively pp. 66–78, and Chapter Two, pp. 105–110.

5 Mili 2015, p. 219.

6 The testimony of an Epeirote city of the same name is late (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἴτων) and may be a confusion with a possible cognate, Ἰτώνη (see *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2373, s.v. Ἴτων [2] [L. Bürchner]; col. 2374, s.v. Itone [Ἰτώνη] [1, b] [J. Gunning]; [3] Ἰτόνη [L. Bürchner]). Despite the remote possibility that Athena Itonia was imported by Epeirote invaders (see below, pp. 39–40), the earliest demonstrable floruit of her cult was in Thessaly.

7 The discovery in the 1960s of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia near the modern village of Philia in the southwest Thessalian tetrad of Thessaliotis has led to an ongoing debate as to whether Iton or Itonos was the name of this sanctuary (at Philia) or a town near it. This debate will be entered in the last section of this chapter (pp. 74–78) and briefly in Chapter Two (pp. 100–104) with regard to Itonian sanctuaries in Thessaly and the origins of the Itonian cult in Boiotia.

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Ships includes among the cities under the Thessalian chieftain Protesilaos of Phylake "Iton, mother of flocks,"[8] alluding to the rich pasturage of the region of southeast Thessaly. Centuries later Strabo writes of a place named Itonos in the same region near the city of Halos by the Gulf of Pagasai as the site of a sanctuary of Itonia.[9] While some Byzantine and modern scholars have treated Iton and Itonos as the same place and use the names interchangeably,[10] others speculate that Homeric Iton was an earlier site near Itonos.[11] Partly, if not entirely, in the realm of myth are the testimonia of *Περὶ Ἀπίστων* that Iton was one of the three oldest cities of Greece and founded by the legendary hero Deukalion, the son of Prometheus,[12] and the report of Diodoros that Herakles killed Kyknos somewhere between Trachis and Itonos in the southeast of Thessaly.[13] The storied antiquity of Iton and the absence of a plausible Greek etymology of its name[14] underlie in part modern conjectures that Iton / Itonos was one of the many Neolithic or Early Helladic toponyms that the

8 *Il.* 2.696: Ἰτωνά τε μητέρα μήλων See Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, pp. 132–133; Visser 1997, pp. 665–666.

9 Strabo 9.5.8 (433); 9.5.14 (435).

10 E.g., Steph. Byz. (s.v. Ἴτων) notes that Iton is also called Itonos after the hero Itonos: Λέγεται καὶ ἡ Ἴτωνος ἀπὸ Ἰτώνου ἥρωος. Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002, p. 1) calls Strabo's Itonos (9.5.8 [433]; 9.5.14 [435]) "Iton," but locates it in Thessaliotis, near the Itonian sanctuary at Philia; cf. below, pp. 74–78, on the question of the location of Iton / Itonos.

11 E.g., *RE* IX, 1916, cols. 2371–2373, esp. 2371, lines 51–59, s.v. Ἴτων 1) (F. Stählin); Wace, Droop, and Thompson 1907–1908, pp. 197–199; Stählin 1924, p. 175. Also on Iton, see *Brill's NPAnt*, vol. 6, 2005, col. 1027, s.v. Iton (H. Kramolisch); *KlPauly*, vol. 2, 1967, col. 1491, s.v. Iton (E. Meyer). The precision of Strabo's geographical detail suggested to Mili (2015, p. 229 n. 80) that he was relying on a more up-to-date source than Homer, perhaps Artemidorus' *Periplous* (ca. 100 BC). In the present work the more common name Itonos is used except where Iton is called for by a source or context.

12 *Myth. Gr.* III, ii, p. 88, lines 7–9. *Περὶ Ἀπίστων*, some times ascribed to a pseudonymous Palaiphatos, survives in a corrupt Byzantine edition that contains some material consistent with the fourth century BC; see *RE* XVIII, 1942, cols. 2451–2455, s.v. Palaiphatos (A. v. Blumenthal).

13 Diod. Sic. 4.37.4. Euripides' (*HF* 389) assignment of Kyknos to the town of Amphanaia near the Gulf of Pagasai is, like Diodoros' mythical reference, roughly consistent with Strabo's location of Itonos.

14 *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2373, lines 45–51, s.v. Ἴτων (F. Stählin). There has been little support for Eustathios' (*Il.* 324, 24 [on Bk. 2, line 696]) observation that Iton was also called Σιτών (τὴν δὲ Ἴτωνα προπαροξύνεσθαί φασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ ὡς Μήκωνα. τινὲς δὲ οξύνουσι λέγοντες, ὅτι ὠνομάζετο καὶ Σιτών διὰ τὸ σιτοφόρον), from the proverbial fertility of the place. Ferdinand Dümmler (*RE* II, 1896, col. 1947, s.v. Athena; 1901, vol. 2, p. 26) offered an unlikely etymology in ἰτεῶνες ("willow branches") that supposedly grew on the banks of the river that Strabo (9.5.14 [435]) located by Itonos. For other suggested etymologies of the goddess's name other than the toponym, see below, pp. 16–19 and footnotes 37–46.

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Greek people retained when they first settled in the Balkan peninsula.[15] The legendary antiquity and unique name of Iton or Itonos led some Byzantine scholars and their successors to believe that Itonia or Itonis, as a single divine name or byname, came from the place where the cult originated,[16] an example of a now widely supposed prehistoric practice of giving topical names to gods and heroes.[17] Such derivation underpins the hypothesis that Athena Itonia is the product of the merger of a local goddess or heroine of Iton with the more prominent Athena.[18] If the cult of Athena Itonia started in Iton or Itonos, it is not certain when this happened or when and how the cult was propagated to other regions and *poleis* of Thessaly.[19] If the city Iton or Itonos antedated the coming of the Greeks, it is conceivable that the cult of Itonia did also; that is, immigrant Aiolians, as the first Greeks to merge with the indigenous people of

15 See Papahatzis 1981, p. 36: Iton was a Neolithic settlement that survived to later time; Moustaka 1983, p. 24: probably a pre-Hellenic city. A place Ἰτόνη in Lydia noted by Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ἴτων) could be an Anatolian cognate of a pre-Greek Thessalian Iton. See also Nilsson 1906, p. 86; *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2373, s.v. Ἴτων (F. Stählin).

16 Tzetz. *ad Lyc*. 355; *Etym. Magn.* p. 479: Ἰτωνὶς καὶ Ἰτωνία ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ εἴρηται παρὰ τοῖς Θεσσαλιοῖς, ἀπό τινος πόλεως Ἴτωνος. For this claim see also Eust. *Il.* 324, 26 (on Bk. 2. 696); Nilsson 1906, p. 86; *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2374, lines 35–41, s.v. Itonia (Ἰτωνία) (A. Adler); *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2373, lines 45–47, s.v. Ἴτων (F. Stahlin); Moretti 1962, p. 100; Trümpy 1997, p. 224, nn. 900 and 901; Burrer 1993, p. 49 and n. 145.

17 On the naming of gods from places, see, for example, the speculation of Emily Vermeule (1964, p. 21) that such presumably pre-Greek goddess/place-name cognates as Mykene / Mykenai, Thebe / Thebai, and Athene / Athenai stemmed from early deities who show up in the Linear B tablets as *potniai* and eventually take on distinctive localizing names. A Linear B tablet from Knossos has the tantalizing *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* (Knossos tablet V 52; see Chadwick 1976, p. 88); [*A*]*-ta-na* is also an uncertainly restored name in a text from Mycenae (MY X 1; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, p. 126); cf. Hurwit 1999, p. 14 on the ambiguity of *A-ta-na*. Possible vestiges of such naming are Greek phrases for "Lady Athena" in Homer (*Il.* 6.305: πότνι' Ἀθηναίη) and Archaic dedicatory inscriptions from the Athenian Akropolis (*IG* I^3 607: πότνι' Ἀθεναία, 718: πότνι' Ἀθάνα). See also *OCD*^{4} 2012, p. 194, s.v. Athena, (R.C.T. Parker), for the possibly related fact that Athena's name in early Attic writing is the adjectival Ἀθηναία. Cf. Farnell [1896–1909] 1977 vol. I, p. 258 and n. *a*, for the reverse idea, that Athens and other places were named for deities. Robert Scranton (1960, pp. 1–7) proffered that Athens was named for resident *numina*, among them Athena. On the origins of Athena and her name in general, see again Hurwit 1999, pp. 13–15; cf. Robertson 1996b, pp. 383–389.

18 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1931] 1959, vol. 1, p. 230; Nilsson 1906, p. 86; *GGR*^{3}, pp. 388, 434, 552; Moretti 1962, p. 100. For cult deities whose names combine those of two gods, see Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky 1993, p. 77, and the examples of Zeus Eumenes, Athena Areia, and Zeus Damatrios; for other examples see *RE* X A, 1972, col. 266, s.v. Zeus I. Epiklesen (H. Schwabl); for specific parallels to Athena Itonia, see bynames that are toponymic; e.g., Athena Alea.

19 See also below, pp. 34–42 and footnotes 105–134 for discussion of possible scenarios of the cult's propagation within Thessaly.

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Thessaly, added this goddess to their pantheon.[20] Despite the logic and parallels of such a sequence of events, it is not precluded that "Itonia" was from its inception a byname of Athena at Iton, a scenario that would preclude the cult's being pre-Greek unless a local Athena was also. As personal names based on toponyms do not commonly shift from one deity to another, the likelihood that no Greek deity except Athena had "Itonia" as a byname may also reflect the Thessalian goddess's original tie to Iton.[21] While the hypothesis of an original Itonia independent of Athena is supported by parallels, there is no explicit literary testimony or iconography that allows us to see precise differentiations of historical period or character in the various ways of naming this deity—Ἰτωνία, Ἰτωνίς, Ἰτωνία Ἀθηνᾶ, Ἀθηνᾶ Ἰτωνία, Ἀθηνᾶ Ἰτωνίς,[22] or simply Ἀθηνᾶ where the context indicates the Itonian goddess.[23] Regardless of this variety, we should think of the Ἰτων-name or byname (ἐπίκλησις) as distinguishing this cult. An analogy to Itonia or Athena Itonia vis-a-vis other Athenas can be seen in Strabo's quotation of Kallimachos, that "Aphrodite Kastnietis surpasses all the Aphrodites—the goddess is not just one—in wisdom."[24] It is logical to think of all Itonias or Athena Itonias as related and having a common origin, for, in consideration of the peculiarity of the name Itonia, it defies logic to think that

20 The prominence of Neolithic settlements in Thessaly is indicative of the relatively large pre-Greek population attracted to this fertile region. If there is truth in the tradition of a population of Aegean *Ur*-people called "Pelasgians," the claim that Thessaly was once called Pelasgia (Hekataios *FGrH* 1 F 14) and the name of the densely populated Thessalian *tetras* of Pelasgiotis may also reflect the local prominence of these people. For the Pelasgians in general and their relationship with Thessaly, see Mili 2015, p. 193 and n. 183; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, passim and pp. 113–116; Briquel 1984, passim, especially pp. 115–140. For a summary of the Neolithic civilization in Thessaly and its influences well into the Bronze Age, see Vermeule 1964, pp. 9–22.

21 Artemis with this byname in the *Suda* (s.v. Ἰτώνη καὶ Ἰτωνία) is generally considered a mistake for Athena; see Roscher *Lex*. vol. 2.1, 1890–1894, col. 568, lines 5–8, s.v. Itonia (Höfer).

22 Ἰτωνὶς is chiefly poetic, either as a byname or a single name. For the reading Ἰτωνίδος (of the scholiasts and MSS P and E) rather than Τριτωνίδος at Ap. Rhod. 1.551 and 1.721, see Fraenkel (1961, *ad loc.*) and footnote 76, below.

23 If it is not simply shorthand, the use of the single name Itonia in early writers may prefigure Wilamowitz and Nilsson's hypothesis (above, p. 1 and footnote 10) of a merger of two cult figures. E.g., the scholiast's (on Ap. Rhod. 1.551; above, p. 9 and footnote 2) designation of Hekataios' subject as simply Ἰτωνία in contrast with his own use of the double names Ἀθηναίης Ἰτωνίδος and Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς may reflect the relative antiquity of the logographic tradition. In Thessaly of the Roman era, Itonia is known in at least one case as the name of a mortal woman (Lolling 1882, p. 229, no. 4, line 30: Ἰτωνία Ἀγ[κ]α[ί]ου).

24 Strabo 9.5.17 [438]: Καλλίμαχος μὲν οὖν φησὶν ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις τὰς Ἀφροδίτας (ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία) τὴν Καστνιῆτιν ὑπερβάλλεσθαι πάσας τῷ φρονεῖν, ὅτι μόνη παραδέχεται τὴν τῶν ὑῶν θυσίαν.

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the name, and thus the cult, could have occurred independently in a variety of cases.

The Thessalian month Ἰτώνιος took its name from τὰ Ἰτώνια, the Thessalian festival of Athena Itonia,[25] but it is impossible to derive precise information about the early history and propagation of the Itonian cult from the largely late and fragmentary epigraphic evidence of Thessalian lunisolar calendars.[26] Nevertheless, the late calendars may offer some corroboration of what literature and archaeology suggest about early political and religious circumstances affecting the Itonian cult. Extant inscriptions from tetradic and perioikic Thessalian *poleis* that refer to the month Ἰτώνιος and are datable from prosopography fall mainly after the formation of the Thessalian League that was part of the Flamininan reform of 196 BC.[27] Although in some of these cases the month Itonios was inserted into local calendars in the course of the late League's gradual adoption of a single unified calendar, probably a requirement of Roman administrative efficiency, it is likely that much earlier an important city or cities had a calendar with the month of Itonios that was the chief antecedent of the eventual unified league calendar.[28] Variation of the position

25 Trümpy 1997, p. 224; Nilsson 1906, p. 89; see Graninger 2011, p. 89 on the linguistics of deriving names of months from those of festivals.

26 For the calendars of Thessaly in general and the month of Itonios specifically, see Hiller von Gaertringen (*IG* IX 2. p. 320, Index); *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2376, s.v. Itonios (Ἰτώνιος) (E. Bischoff); Samuel 1972, pp. 83–87; Trümpy 1997, pp. 216–240 for all Thessaly; pp. 217, 221–222, 224, 231 for the month of Itonios; Graninger 2011, pp. 87–114.

27 See Samuel 1972, p. 83 for the evidence (*IG* IX 2. 546 [131/2 AD]) of a calendar common to Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis and Histiaiotis, with Itonios as the first month in an order deduced from epigraphical sequences of months. See the following exemplary inscriptional references to Itonios recorded by Hiller (*IG* IX 2. Index VI.4), Samuel (1972, pp. 80–86) and others, cited with *IG* and *SEG* inscription no., line *no.*, and [date], when known: *Lamia* (*IG* IX 2. 71, *12* [between 178 and 146 BC]); Achaia Phthiotis: unknown city near *Kophoi* (*IG* IX 2. 102 a, *12* [early-second c. BC), *Melitaia* (*IG* IX 2. 206, III d [beginning of first c. AD]), *Phthiotic Thebes* (*IG* IX 2. 132, *1*), *Pyrasos* (*IG* IX 2. 133, *10*), *Thaumakoi* (*IG* IX 2. 218, *1* [179–146 BC]); Histiaiotis: *Matropolis* (*IG* IX 2. 277, *9*); Pelasgiotis: *Larisa* (*SEG* XXIX 531, *22*; 532, *2*; *IG* IX 2. 541, *10* [first c. BC]; *IG* IX 2. 543, *2* [Augustan period]; *IG* IX 2. 562, *15*; *SEG* XXXI 576, *2*; 579, *56*; XLIV. 450, *5*; *Larisa* (possibly of Perrhaibia): *IG* IX 2. 1344, *6*, [Augustan]); *Skotoussa*: *SEG* XV 370, *2* [second c. BC]; Thessaliotis: *Kierion* (*IG* IX 2. 259, *5* [late-second c. BC]); Perrhaibia: *Gonnoi* (*IG* IX 2. 1042, *33* [Augustan period]), *Phalanna* (*IG* IX 2. 1232, *34*).

28 See Denver Graninger's (2011, pp. 106–114) demonstration that tetradic cities were early subscribers to the common calendar, but some of the perioikic cities taken into the League responded more variably until the project of a single calendar was fully achieved by the time Augustus assigned part of Thessaly to the province of Achaia. See Graninger 2011, p. 95 with n. 23, and Samuel 1972, p. 84, on differing synchronisms of Delphian and Thessalian months accounting for variable estimations of relationships of Thessalian

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of the month Itonios in the lunisolar calendars of Thessalian *poleis* may reflect independent adoptions of the cult or festival of Athena Itonia, the fact that the nature of the cult was not tied to a particular time of the year, and, in some cases, the simple convenience of inserting the month-name Itonios in the position of the month that it displaced.[29] While the widespread inclusion of a month Itonios in Thessalian calendars is indicative of the overall importance of the Itonian cult, it may not be that every *polis* with this month in its calendar had a local sanctuary and festival of Athena Itonia. Some cities may have marked the festival in their local calendars but celebrated it at the sanctuary of another god or at the Itonian sanctuary of another city or region. There may also have been cases of the conservative retention of a month of Itonios in the calendar of a city where the cult and festival were no longer significant.[30] On occasions when the Thessalians as a *sympoliteia* or a *koinon* attended to the cult of Athena Itonia, whether or not they had local sanctuaries of the goddess, they presumably gathered together at a single Itonian *temenos*.[31] Despite all of the uncertainty and lateness of testimony to the month of Itonios, its existence in the Thessalian festival calendars is frequent and entrenched enough to constitute strong evidence of the precedence and

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months with the solar year. The importance of the *polis* of Larisa in the *tetrades* of Archaic Thessaly and the fact that the months of its pre-Flamininan calendar corresponded closely to those of the later League calendar led Friedrich Stählin (*RE* XII, 1925, col. 871, s.v. Larisa) and later Catherine Trümpy (1997, p. 223) to suggest that an old Larisaean calendar was the model. Graninger (2011, p. 105) added that if the evidence were complete, other precedents besides Larisa might be apparent.

29 See the tabulated sequences and commentary by Hiller (*IG* IX 2. Index VI, 4, pp. 320–321), Samuel (1972, pp. 80–86), and Trümpy (1997, pp. 216–217, 221–222, 231–233). At Lamia, for example, Itonios is the tenth month in a year that begins with the winter solstice, while at Pyrasos it falls in the second half of the year, and in the other documented Thessalian cities it appears to be in the first half of the year; see also *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2376 s.v. Itonios (Ἰτώνιος) (E. Bischoff) and Bischoff 1884, p. 340. The next section of this chapter demonstrates that the character of Athena Itonia in Thessaly was primarily military. Therefore her festival, unlike those of cults associated with planting, harvesting, weather, et al., was probably not tied to a particular season of the year. This may account in part for variations both in the annual timing of the festival of the Itonia and also in the position of the month of Itonios in the calendar year. If there was any significance attached to the beginning of the calendar year, Itonios' position as the first month in the late calendar of the Thessalian League (Samuel 1972, p. 83, and *IG* IX 2. 562, line 15; Trümpy 1997, pp. 216–217; Graninger 2011, p. 95) may reflect the importance of Athena Itonia among the Thessalian cult deities.

30 See Trümpy 1997, pp. 282–283; Graninger 2011, p. 90.

31 See below, pp. 74–78, for the controversy about the location of Itonos, where the Thessalians, probably on the occasion of the Itonian festival, received the sacred embassies of Kos and Mytilene in the third and second centuries BC.

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widespread, if not Panthessalian, importance of the cult of Athena Itonia by the early-second century BC and probably much earlier. Finally, the cogency of the month of Itonios as evidence of the precedence of the cult of Athena Itonia in Thessaly is corroborated by a comparative glance at the calendars of the three other regions of Greece where we have extensive evidence of the cult. The *koinon* of the Boiotians, while worshipping Athena Itonia and holding assemblies at her sanctuary near Koroneia, had no known festival of the Itonia or month of Itonios among its *poleis* but celebrated the Itonian goddess at the Pamboiotia in the month of Pamboiotios.[32] Similarly, the Athenian version of the cult, which was likely imported from Thessaly in the sixth century and clearly had official status and a sanctuary with significant property by the fifth century, produced no month of Itonios, nor has Athens yielded any evidence of an Itonian festival.[33] Finally, from the Cycladic island of Amorgos we have a wealth of inscriptional evidence of the festival of Athena Itonia, the Ἰτώνια, but a month of Itonios is unknown there.[34] If the attestations of the month of Itonios outside Thessaly at Thronion in Epiknemidian Lokris and in the colony of Tauromenion in eastern Sicily are indicative of the cult or festival of Athena Itonia, there is no further evidence of such.[35] In sum, though the month of Itonios is not found exclusively in Thessalian calendars, its extraordinary frequency there in extant inscriptions joins the evidence of the toponym Iton or Itonos in suggesting that the cult of Athena Itonia originated in Thessaly and that it had an antiquity there that was probably as early as that suggested by the evidence of archaeology.[36]

To return now to Itonia's name, early sources as well as modern scholars have suggested etymologies other than the imprint of the toponym Iton or Itonos, but together they have no coherence or cogency. A favorite ancient explanation,

32 See Chapter Two, below, p. 151.

33 See Chapter Three, passim.

34 See Chapter Four, p. 207, footnote 5.

35 Thronion: *FdD* III 4, no. 42, line 2; Samuel 1972, p. 72. Tauromenion: *IG* XIV 426, IV 33; 427, I 8; 429, I 17. Cf. below, Chapter Four, pp. 213–214 and footnotes 24–25, for the month of Itonios at Tauromenion as possible evidence of the cult on the island of Naxos.

36 See Trümpy 1997, pp. 282, 288–289, for the proposition that the month of Itonios was common in the West Greek and Thessalian-Boiotian group of calendars whose festival cycles must have stemmed from the second millennium BC when the corresponding patterns of ethnic settlements and dialects were formed, and that with those divisions the festivals would have produced the names of the months. The presence of a festival of the Itonia and a month of Itonios in such an *Urkalendar* would be consonant with the archaeology of the sanctuary at Philia near Karditsa in Thessaliotis, where the cult of Athena Itonia was apparently continuous from at least as early as the Geometric period through Roman Imperial times; for that sanctuary, see below, pp. 66–78.

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and one that survives mainly in late-antique and Byzantine sources, simply begs or transfers the etymological question by relying on genealogical myths that derive the goddess's name from a primitive authochthon, a Thessalian hero or king Ἴτωνος.[37] The same Byzantine source that derives "Itonia" from "Iton" attributes to Simonides the testimony that Athena and her sister Iodama were the daughters of Itonos.[38] Another scholion to Apollonios cites a fragment of Armenidas' *Thebaïka* (fifth century BC?) for the legend that Itonos, son of Amphiktyon, was born in Thessaly and was the namesake of both the city Iton and the goddess Itonia.[39] Eustathios mixes traditions, noting that Itonos was the eponymous hero of the city Itonos and that the goddess was in turn named after the city.[40] The hero Itonos appears in other late mythical contexts that may concern Athena Itonia and the city Itonos, but only indirectly. Pausanias three times refers to Itonos as the son of Amphiktyon and once to Amphiktyon as a son of Deukalion, the son of Prometheus.[41] One mythical tradition has

37 See Intzesiloglou 2006, pp. 221–222.

38 *Etym. Magn.* p. 479; Tzetz. *ad. Lyc*. 355 (Simonides of Keos, *FGrH* 8 F 1): Ἰτωνὶς καὶ Ἰτωνία ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ εἴρηται παρὰ τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς, ἀπό τινος πόλεως Ἴτωνος. φησὶ δὲ ὁ γενεαλόγος Σιμωνίδης Ἰτώνου θυγατέρας γενέσθαι δύο, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἰοδάμαν. See *FGrH* I 1, p. 478 for the confusion of Simonides the lyric poet and Simonides the genealogist. For Iodama, who in other evidence is associated chiefly with the Itonian cult and sanctuary at Koroneia in Boiotia, see below, Chapter Two, pp. 132–137.

39 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.551a (Armenidas, *FGrH* 378 F 1): Ἀμφικτύονος υἱὸν Ἴτωνον ἐν Θεσσαλίαι γεννηθῆναι, ἀφ᾽ οὗ Ἴτων πόλις καὶ Ἰτωνὶς Ἀθηνᾶ; see Jacoby's commentary on *FGrH* 378 for the dating of Armenidas before 400 BC. See also Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἴτων· …Λέγεται καὶ ἡ Ἴτωνος ἀπὸ Ἰτώνου ἥρωος, ἀφ οὗ καὶ Ἰτωνία ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. ἤ τις καὶ Ἰτώνη; Eustathios (*Il.* 324, 24 [on Bk. 2, line 696]). Friedrich Stählin (*RE* IX, 1916, col. 2372, s.v. Ἴτων 1) saw in the saga of Amphiktyon as father of Itonos an amphictyonic federal sanctuary in Iton. Maria Mili (2015, p. 231 and n. 92) noted the same mythical relationship in regard to a less specific Itonian amphictyony in central Greece. See similar associations in Herodotus' (7.200) notice of a shrine of Amphiktyon at the site of Anthela, and Pausanias' (10.8.1–2) report of Amphiktyon as founder of the Delphic Amphictyony, but including the testimony of Androtion that the Amphictyony was so named because its original members were the surrounding neighbors (*amphiktyones*) of Delphi. See Hall 2002, pp. 148–151, for a discussion of etymologies of *amphiktiones* / *amphiktyones* and his interpretation of Amphiktyon's descendant genealogy as reflecting the history of enrollment in the Pylaian Amphictyony; see also Graninger 2011, p. 48.

40 Eust. *Il.* 324, 26–27 (on Bk 2, line 696): λέγεται δέ, φασί, καὶ Ἰτώνη τρισυλλάβως, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἴτωνος ἀπὸ Ἰτώνου ἥρωως, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰτωνία.

41 Paus. 5.1.4; 9.1.1; 9.34.1–2; a number of editions at 9.34.1 have καλεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰτωνίου [instead of Ἰτώνου, the reading of Amasaeus] τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος. Since the son of Amphiktyon is elsewhere in Pausanias and generally identified as Ἴτωνος, I follow Amasaeus and the Teubner edition of M.H. Rocha-Pereira (1989) in reading Ἰτώνου at Paus. 9.34.1 and "Itonos" for English translations of the name, except in verbatim quotations of the other spelling.

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Deukalion land after the Great Flood at Othrys in Achaia Phthiotis of perioikic Thessaly, found the city of Itonos, and become king there.[42] If this source is combined with the fragment of Armenidas, the implied result is a mythical dynastic succession in Thessaly of Deukalion, Amphiktyon, and Itonos. It seems hardly coincidental then that much of this mythology is set in the same region of Thessaly as Homer's Iton and Strabo's Itonos with its supposed shrine of Itonia. Fictional genealogies, however, are understandably various and often not locally or chronologically consistent.[43] The late sources about the mythical origins of Itonia and her name must be the product of oral traditions that gradually transformed or replaced historical memories of deeper antiquity. The varied and sometimes contradictory mythology about a hero-king Itonos exposes him as just another etymological figure at various times recreated and invoked to suit a variety of occasions, but as a source of Itonia's name and cult he is inconsistent, redundant, and presents no credible competition with the historical city of Iton or Itonos.

Two modern explanations of Itonia's name also reject the toponymic etymology, one based on perceived attributes of the goddess, the other on a word of foreign origin. The first of these propositions sees the etymology of "Itonia" in the *ιτ*-forms of the Greek verb εἶμι ("go"), with the notion that the goddess is "the advancing one," that is, the martial Athena of the type called "promachos," as depicted on early to late Thessalian coinage, striding forward aggressively with a panoply of helmet, shield, and raised spear.[44] In this hypothesis one

42 Hellanikos of Lesbos, *FGrH* 4 F 117, with commentary, *FGrH* I, p. 463; *Myth. Gr*. vol. III, fasc. 2, *Excerpta Vaticana*, I[7]. The mythology of Deukalion and his family was very attractive and fluid; see below Chapter Two, p. 134, and Chapter Three, p. 199, and footnote 124, for its appearance in Boiotia and Athens respectively.

43 In still another mythic tale (Diod. Sic. 4.67.6–7) set in Thessaly, Itonos is the son of Boiotos, the son of Poseidon and Arne and grandson of Aiolos. Boiotos inherits the kingship from his grandfather, naming the city Arne after his mother and his people after himself. In this version there is no mention of Itonia. From such mixed mythology Intzesiloglou (2006, p. 222) has made the historical inference that Athena Itonia was a cult deity of the Aiolic people in Thessaly before the invasions of *Boiotoi* and *Thessaloi* from the region of Epeiros. By that interpretation Itonia is ruled out as the daughter of Itonos in the version of Diodoros. The testimonia of a mythic hero Boiotos and a distinct ethnic group of *Boiotoi* in Thessaly may be part of the Boiotian tradition of a collective identity that looked to a common Thessalian origin. For Boiotian collective identity and its relation to Thessaly and the cult of Athena Itonia in Boiotia see below, Chapter Two, pp. 94, 95, 99–100, and Larson 2007, passim.

44 For Athena of the promachos stance on coins, see, e.g., Fig. **2** (silver obol, Trikka, 440–400 BC); Fig. **3** (silver obol, Perrhaibia, 450–400 BC); Fig. **4** (silver obol, Perrhaibia, 450–400 BC); Fig. **5** (silver stater, Thessalian League, 2nd half of 2nd c. BC); Fig. **6** (bronze assaria, Thessalian League, AD 51–54).

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would have to explain the apparently cognate relationship of Itonia with Iton or Itonos as the goddess's giving her name to the proverbially primitive city, and therefore that the martial attributes of the goddess that gave rise to her name antedated the city. Although three scholars have derived Ἰτωνία from εἶμι,[45] this hypothesis is not economical and smacks of the kind of "folk" etymologizing found in ancient sources, although there is no sign of it in any of the ancient testimonia and lexicographical commentaries on Iton-names. In short, a more economical hypothesis is that the Thessalian goddess took her name or byname from the place-name Iton or Itonos.

The other modern derivation of the divine name Itonia is not associated directly with the Thessalian nomenclature in *Iton*—but claims to create that nomenclature. This is Otto Gruppe's thesis that the etymology of "Itonia" lay with the Phoenicians, in whose language the name meant "the immortal one," and that her cult came first to Crete, where it spawned the mythic female Itone and the place name Itanos, then to Boiotia, and from there it was colonized to Thessaly and most other places with Iton- or Itan-names.[46] While it is true that the Greeks usually thought of their gods as immortal, this hypothesis strays far from Occam's Law of Parsimony, has little evidence beyond roughly similar phonology, and makes no real case for a migration of Phoenicians or their Cretan correspondents that plausibly accounts for the dissemination through mainland Greece of the Itonian cult, the name Itonia, or toponyms supposedly derived from that name. These two derivations of Itonia's name and the place-name Iton / Itonos are the sorts of proposals that can be neither proved nor altogether disproved, but they are both highly conjectural and neither has attracted much support. In the end, the majority of early 20th-century scholars are more persuasive in advising us to look for the meaning of Itonia in the Thessalian toponym Iton or Itonos.

Turning now to the festival called τὰ Ἰτώνια, here also we find evidence of the precedence of Athena Itonia's cult in Thessaly. As previously noted, the member cities of a *sympoliteia* or a *koinon* of the Thessalians may on occasion have celebrated the Itonia at a Panthessalian sanctuary. In the Hellenistic period the collective Thessalian cities were probably celebrating the Itonia at the

45 The derivation of Ἰτωνία from the ἰτ-forms of εἶμι (see, e.g., LSJ, Revised Suppl. [1996], s.v. ἰτάω:) was proposed first by Apostolos Arvanitopoulos (1908, p. 160) and later, seemingly independently, by Nikolaos Papahatzis (1974–1981, vol. 5, p. 217) and finally, and still seemingly idependently, by Noel Robertson (1996a, pp. 59–60; 2001, pp. 39, 52 and nn. 55, 56). For a response to Robertson's unique variation on this theme of εἶμι—that Itonia originated in Athens and that the "going" referred to Athena's ritual processions—see the Appendix to the present book, pp. 259–263.

46 See Gruppe 1906, pp. 76–77, where the Phoenician term is not revealed.

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shrine noted by Strabo at Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis, when, according to Koan decrees, they received sacred ambassadors from Kos and Mytilene.[47] Similarly a festival Itonia in the early second century BC may have been the occasion for the *thysia* to which the federated Thessalians invited the Ambrakians at the sanctuary at Philia near Karditsa in Thessaliotis.[48] These occasions, however, do not preclude local festivals, and, even though explicit reference to a celebration of the Ἰτώνια in Thessaly is historically attested rather late and only for the city of Krannon,[49] there is still good reason for Nilsson's opinion that Athena Itonia's festival was celebrated in various places throughout Thessaly.[50] Of the three other places in Greece where we have substantial evidence of the cult of Athena Itonia, only Amorgos has explicit evidence of a festival named τὰ Ἰτώνια, but, as will be seen below in Chapter Four, that evidence is exceptionally detailed.

Beyond the calendrical evidence of Itonian festivals and months, a unique volume of other historical and mythical testimony from Thessaly and the wider Greek world corroborates the case for the early prominence of the cult among the Thessalians. As will be seen in the following chapter, there is considerable testimony that the Itonian cult came to Boiotia from Thessaly. This being the case, even a little earlier than Hekataios' treatment of Thessalian Itonia, Alkaios' testimony to the prominence of the cult at Boiotian Koroneia by the early-sixth century would indicate that Athena Itonia was worshipped in Thessaly for some indefinite time before that. As noted briefly above, some sense of how early this may have been comes from inference about the antiquity of the festival of the Itonia in the Thessalian calendars and from the excavation at Philia in Thessaliotis of a sanctuary that the previously mentioned decree of the Thessalian League virtually assures us belonged to the Itonian cult.[51] At Philia the nature, continuity, and widespread origin of artifacts reflect the prominence of Athena Itonia in western Thessaly as early as the

47 Shrine at Itonos: Strabo 9.5.14 (435). For the theoric missions of Kos and Mytilene to Itonos see *IG* XII 4.1. 133 and 207; *SEG* LV 605. See below, pp. 52–56, for a fuller treatment of the significance of these sacred embassies with regard to the location of Itonos and in the relation of the Itonian cult to Thessalian political history. See also below, pp. 74–78, the related controversy about the location of Itonos.

48 For the decree of the Thessalian League (ca. 179–165 BC) inviting the Ambrakians, see *SEG* XXVI 688, and Habicht 1976, pp. 178–179; also below, pp. 68–69 and footnote 249.

49 Polyaenus (2nd c. AD), *Strat.* 2.34.14: ἑορτῆς οὔσης τῶν καλουμένων Ἰτωνίων ἐν ᾗ πάντες Κραννώνιοι παίζουσιν. See *IACP*, pp. 694–695, no. 400, s.v. Krannon. See below, p. 84, for Krannon as the site of an Itonian sanctuary.

50 Nilsson 1906, p. 89.

51 See below, pp. 68–69 footnote 49.

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Geometric age.[52] Signs of the eventual national and international importance of the cult of Athena Itonia in Classical and Hellenistic Thessaly are the literary testimonia of dedicatory epigrams and materials that were set up in her shrines by Thessalians and other Greeks. The dedication of trophies of war will be considered below in the discussion of the goddess's martial attributes, but a different case of attention to Athena Itonia can exemplify the Panhellenic importance of her cult and at least one of its shrines in the early-second century BC. Polybios, writing of events in his own lifetime, reports that Perseus of Macedon, after the death of his father and the renewal of the dynasty's φιλία with Rome (179/8 BC), chose a sanctuary of Athena Itonia, most probably in Thessaly, as one of the places, along with the great shrines of Apollo at Delos and Delphi, where he sought the favor of Greece by posting the list of fugitives and exiles to whom he granted amnesty and recall.[53] Finally, the importance of the Thessalian cult of Athena Itonia to wider Greece in the third and second centuries BC is exemplified in the aforementioned epigraphic evidence of the dispatch of Koan and Mytilenean sacred embassies to Itonos, probably to a sanctuary and festival of Athena Itonia.[54]

The prominence of the Itonian cult in Thessaly is conveyed not only by historical evidence but also by the re-creation and explanation of its institutions in mythical tales. Although it cannot be proved beyond a reasonable doubt whether the Itonian cult originated in Thessaly, Boiotia, or some other place in central Greece, a scholiast on Apollonios of Rhodes may be attesting at least

52 For the chronology of small finds from Philia, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, pp. 119–120; see also Schmid 2006 for possible phases of the sanctuary as early as the Middle Helladic or Sub-Mycenaean periods. For details on the site at Philia, see below, pp. 66–78, in the section on Itonian sanctuaries in Thessaly.

53 Polyb. 25.3.1–3: Ὅτι Περσεὺς ἀνανεωσάμενος τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐθέως ἑλληνοκοπεῖν ἐπεβάλετο, κατακαλῶν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ τοὺς τὰ χρέα φεύγοντας καὶ τοὺς πρὸς καταδίκας ἐκπεπτωκότας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ βασιλικοῖς ἐγκλήμασι παρακεχωρηκότας. καὶ τούτων ἐξετίθει προγραφὰς εἴς τε Δῆλον καὶ Δελφοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, διδοὺς οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς καταπορευομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κομιδήν, ἀφ' ὧν ἕκαστος ἔφυγε. (ed. Th. Buettner-Wobst, Stuttgart). Since many Macedonian exiles would have been in nearby Thessaly, Perseus most likely posted the notice in Thessaly (Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 224), perhaps at the Itonian sanctuary near Philia in Thessaliotis, a focal point for publications of the Thessalian League after its reorganization in 196 BC. F.W. Walbank (*HCP*, vol. 3, p. 276) thought that Perseus' publication was at Athena's shrine near Itonos (Strabo, 9.5.14 [435]), which he thought was the same as Pausanias' site (1.13.2) between Pherai and Larisa. Friedrich Stählin implied (*RE* IX, 1916, col. 2372, lines 33–35, s.v. Ἴτων) that Perseus chose the three sites for their geographical distribution. Less likely is Benedikt Niese's (1893–1903, vol. 3, p. 99) opinion that the Itoneion in question was that in Boiotia, presumably the sanctuary at Koroneia.

54 See below pp. 52–56.

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to the priority of Thessaly over Boiotia when he writes that the author of the *Argonautika* identifies Jason's mentor not from her byname in Koroneia but from Thessalian Itonia.[55] In a poetic association of the Itonian cult with perioikic Thessaly Apollonios' contemporary Kallimachos, in his hymn to Demeter, tells of the clan of the Ormenidai inviting Erysichthon to the festival games of Athena Itonia.[56]

To sum up, although we lack probative evidence of the origin of the cult of Athena Itonia, a wide array of ancient testimonia supports the traditional scholarly thinking that the cult originated and grew to prominence in Thessaly and spread from there directly or indirectly to other parts of the Greek world. The foremost evidence for these propositions is the unique number, variety, and antiquity of Thessalian entities with the cognate *Iton*-names and the prominent Panthessalian and Panhellenic reputation of the cult in Thessaly. As spelled out later in this chapter, the chronology of the cult's founding and early development in Thessaly cannot be closely determined from the fragmentary evidence of archaeology or the various attempts of later ancient Byzantine sources to reconstruct Greek prehistory. Nevertheless, the probable association of the cult with the toponym Iton or Itonos may be indicative of an origin before the coming of the Greeks or as early as the Aiolic settlement of Thessaly and before the influx of ethnic *Boiotoi* and *Thessaloi* from Epeiros,[57] and some of the evidence of poetic and prose literature is reliable enough to suggest that at least as early as the Archaic period the cult was a strong focus of the tetradic and perioikic Thessalians and had a reputation beyond their

55 *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1.551a: Ἀθ(ηναίης) Ἰτωνίδος: Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐν Κορωνείαι τῆς Βοιωτίας. ὁ μέντοι Ἀπολλώνιος οὐκ ἂν λέγοι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπὶ κατασκευῆι τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κορωνείαι ἐπικλήσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλικῆς Ἰτωνίας, περὶ ἧς Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν λέγει. Cf Scholion to Ap. Rhod. 1.721: ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ θεὰ Ἰτωνὶς τιμᾶται καὶ ἐν Κορωνείᾳ [πόλις] τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἀπὸ Ἰτώνου τοῦ ἥρωος.

56 Callim. *Hymn* 6. 74–75: ἦνθον Ἰτωνιάδος νιν Ἀθαναίας ἐπ᾽ ἄεθλα / Ὀρμενίδαι καλέοντες; see Ringwood 1927, p. 15; Hopkinson 1984, pp. 24–25, 100, 140–141; for Erysichthon, see Helly 1995, pp. 99–100. Ormenios was the legendary ancestor of the Ormenidai and eponymous king of Ormenion (Hom. *Il.* 2.734), which Strabo (9.5.18 [438]), identified as an outlying town of Demetrias just north of the Gulf of Pagasai near Mt. Pelion in Magnesia. Whether this legendary festival can be associated with an actual sanctuary is uncertain. Stählin (*RE* IX, 1916, col. 2372, s.v. "Ιτων) assumed that Ormenion was the supposed scene of these games, *contra* Nilsson's idea (1906, p. 89), on the evidence of Callim. *Cer.* 74–75, that they took place farther north in Dotion, the legendary realm of Erysichthon referred to earlier in the hymn (6.24–26). On the hymn, the Ormenidai, and Ormenion, see also Mili 2015, pp. 94–95 n. 198, 231 n. 87, 234. Others have assigned this supposed festival of Athena to the Itonian shrines at Koroneia in Boiotia (Hopkinson 1984, p. 140) and at Philia in Thessaliotis (Décourt 1990, pp. 154–155).

57 See Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 222.

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borders. Archaeological corroboration of the prehistoric importance of the cult of Athena Itonia in Thessaly will be noted below in our detailed treatment of the Itonian sanctuary at Philia in Thessaliotis.[58] Finally, the precedence and prominence of the Itonian goddess in Thessaly may gain support from the hypotheses of the following two chapters that Boiotia and Athens received her cult directly from Thessaly.

2 The Military Character of Athena Itonia in Thessaly

The extant literary and archaeological evidence of the developed character that the Thessalians attributed to Athena Itonia shows her as a major military goddess of the Thessalians and patron of their armies, and therefore a divine protector of the Thessalian *poleis* and in their collective identity as an *ethnos* or a *koinon*.[59] It is difficult to determine the origins of this character of Itonian Athena just as it is in other cults of Athena in which she has martial attributes.[60] Since the evidence of dialects and legends suggests a long history of military struggles involving Aiolic settlers, and Boiotian and Thessalian invaders in geographic Thessaly, it would not be surprising that this history would foster a local goddess with dominant martial aspects. From the Archaic period some Thessalian burials and temple architecture show evidence of a strong emphasis by wealthy elites on military prowess and horsemanship.[61] Other archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Thessalian cities shows the related worship of martial Athena as Polias, a cultic byname that points mainly to the goddess's role as defender of the cities, and also under the somewhat more picturesque name Pallas Hoplophoros.[62] Louis Robert alluded to further possible evidence

58 See below, pp. 66–78.

59 Farnell, [1896–1909] 1977, vol. 1, p. 301. Despite the collective identity of the Thessalians, their political and military history shows a chronic difficulty in acting concertedly; see Mili 2015, pp. 216–217, 236; see Mili also (pp. 233–234) for a recent résumé of the nature of Athena Itonia, particularly in Thessaly.

60 One hypothesis for the origins of a militant Athena is Nilsson's conception (1950, pp. 498–501) of a Minoan-Mycenaean palatial goddess whose guardianship and strong male associations became extended in the militant Mycenaean states to the role of a war god; cf. Hurwit 1999, pp. 12–18.

61 Stamatopoulou 2007, pp. 319–321.

62 For Athena Polias in Thessaly, see Rakatsanis and Tziafalias 1997, pp. 17–18. She received rites and dedications at Phalanna (*IG* IX 2. 1230, line 36–37; 1231, lines 16–17; 1233, line 1) and at Atrax as early as the Archaic period (Giannopoulos 1934–1935, pp. 140–145). Her temples have been identified at Phthiotic Thebes (Arvanitopoulos 1907, pp. 166–169; 1908, pp. 176–180), at Larisa in Pelasgiotis (Moustaka 1983, p. 25 and n. 86), and at Gonnoi in

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of the martial character of Thessalian Athena when he asked rhetorically whether the "displays of arms" (ὁπλοφανίαι)[63] mentioned in a third-century arbitral inscription from Phthiotic Thebes concerning sacred lands[64] were not related to the military cult of Athena Itonia, one of whose shrines lay, according to Strabo, between Phthiotic Thebes and the *polis* of Halos.[65] There is no probative evidence that the dispute was over the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, but recently Denver Graninger has proffered that, if Robert's speculative association was factual, the goddess may have had a festival called the Ὁπλοφανία that was distinct from the Ἰτώνια.[66] While more than one Thessalian cult of Athena shared the chiefly martial character she had as Itonia, these cults probably had a relationship of mutual support and influence as early as their coexistence, and, in a common practice of Greek religion, they may have been at various times and places worshipped in the same sanctuaries.[67] Nilsson in fact theorized that the propagation to other Thessalian cities of the cult of Athena Itonia as the regional goddess of Iton had much to do with her reputation as a powerful Polias-type goddess,[68] but in his hypothesis of a merger of Athena with a Thessalian hero-goddess Itonia there is no certainty about when such

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Perrhaibia, a place that yielded dedications to Athena also as Pallas Hoplophoros (Helly 1973, vol. 1, pp. 30 and n. 4, 72–74, 147–148; vol. 2. pp. 172–179, nos. 147–156; Mili 2015, p. 106 and n. 31). For Archaic temples in Thessaly, see Catherine Morgan 2003, pp. 86, 141–142. For the *hoplophoria*, a "bearing of arms," as a military ritual that may have been performed in festivals of martial Athena, see Latte 1953, p. 39 n. 7.

63 See LSJ, addenda et corrigenda, s.v. ὁπλοφανία.

64 *Ed. princ*. Giannopoulos 1932, pp. 19–21, no. 5, line 13; for the improved text, see McDevitt 1970, pp. 10–11, no. 33; cf. *FdD* III 4, no. 355, p. 21 n. 2 (Giannopoulos' text, line 13); Ager 1997, Appendix, no. 26.

65 Robert 1935, pp. 208–209. Robert's recognition in this fragmentary arbitral text of a reference to the Haleans (line 8: Ἁλέσι) suggested to him that the dispute concerned Phthiotic Thebes and the neighboring *polis* of Halos and was over the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Itonos which lay between the two disputing *poleis* (Strabo 9.5.8 [433]; 9.5.14 [435]). On this sanctuary, see below, pp. 59–66.

66 Graninger 2011, pp. 56–57 n. 42.

67 A decree of the federated Thessalians (ca. 179–165 BC) found in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia invites honored guests to the sacrifice to Athena and the other gods (Habicht 1976, p. 179, lines 20–21) … τῆι Ἀθη[νᾶι] / [τῆι Ἰτωνία]ι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς … While "the other gods" may be a formulaic phrase to preclude the offense of unnamed gods, it may also reflect the common practice of worshipping other deities, especially related deities, at a shrine belonging to the chief god.

68 Nilsson (1906, p. 86), while recognizing that there is no explicit evidence of Itonia as an originally independent goddess, compared her with the goddess of Alea in Arcadia, who was still independent in historical time but became identified as Athena Alea when she had departed from the city of her name and become a Polias of the wider Arcadian region. See also Nilsson, *GGR*^{3} p. 552.

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a union might have occurred and whether an original Itonia brought her own martial attributes to the synthesis, thereby facilitating it, or acquired those attributes entirely from Athena. If Athena was the sole contributor of warlike character, we have no real evidence of the attributes of an original and independent Itonia.[69] Given the possible antiquity of an original Itonia as war goddess, it is conceivable that in the supposed merger she added something to the martial aspects of Athena, perhaps something of the relationship with military horsemanship for which Thessaly was uniquely famous.[70] Whatever the type and share of traits each of the supposed original goddesses contributed to the duality of Athena Itonia, the resulting cult figure was in the end *sui generis*.

Pausanias is a relatively late source, but if we could be sure that the Phokian War of Independence from Thessaly was the context for his statement that the *synthema* (signal for battle) given by Thessalian generals was on every occasion the name "Athena Itonia," we might reasonably conclude that she was a martial goddess of the Thessalian *ethnos* at least by the early-fifth-century.[71] It

69 Although the lack of evidence about cult officials and rituals other than basic sacrifice restricts our sense of Athena Itonia of Thessaly mainly to her military aspect, some of the extant literature and discovered votives hint at attributes of feminine craft and wisdom; see below, pp. 26–27, 34. Some scholars have argued from Strabo's (9.2.29 [411]) testimony of a statue of Hades in the Itonian temple near Boiotian Koroneia that Athena Itonia there had a chthonic aspect that came with her cult from prehistoric Thessaly; see, e.g., Despinis 1971, pp. 142–145; see also Papahatzis (1981, p. 36; 1992, pp. 321–322), who added that the merged Athena Itonia evolved from her chthonic persona into a war goddess only about the Protogeometric period, becoming by the Archaic period the ethnic πρόμαχος θεά of all the Thessalians. The idea of a Thessalian Itonia of the underworld who contributed her chthonic aspect via Thessalian Athena to the goddess of Boiotian Koroneia is, however, doubly speculative, for, while chthonic cults are prominent in Thessalian religion (see Mili 2015, pp. 12–15, 147, 268, 270, 273–275), there is no direct evidence of this aspect in Athena Itonia; see Morgan 2003, p. 141: "… it is sometimes asserted (on minimal evidence) that she originated as an underworld deity, but she certainly had a warlike persona, …" Furthermore, as will be argued below in Chapter Two, it is likely that the statue at Koroneia was not an image of Hades but of Zeus (so Pausanias [9.34.1], who does not refer to this Zeus as "καταχθόνιος"; *pace* Papahatzis 1992, p. 322). Moreover, even if the male image at Koroneia was that of a chthonic deity, that nature did not necessarily affect the character of Athena Itonia.

70 The Itonian cult in the early political and military history of Thessaly is discussed below, pp. 34–56.

71 Paus. 10.1.10: τὸ γὰρ σύνθημα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγούντων ἐδίδοτο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰτωνίας. Although σύνθημα here is some times translated as "watchword" or "password," those meanings are unlikely, since its use was recurrent (κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ). Since Pausanias' context is a victory of the Phokians, it is likely that the battle at issue was not during the early-sixth century, when the Thessalians gained control of Phokis, but in the Phokian war of independence from Thessaly ca. 490 BC, when Phokis emerged as a federal state; see Hdt. 8.27–28; see also Larsen 1968, p. 40; Sealey 1976, p. 18.

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is likely, however, that her military patronage began much earlier in Thessalian history. Although none of the references to the Itonian goddess gives us a precise determination of the chronology of her character, to the rough extent that the historical evolution of a Panthessalian political and military system can be established, some reasonable approximation might be made of the evolution of Athena Itonia as the patron of armed Thessalians. We will, however, postpone the attempt at that approximation to the following section of this chapter[72] and look now at the literature, coins, and other artifacts that suggest that Athena Itonia was a military deity during a long span of Thessalian history.

A scholion to the *Iliad* cites the third-century poet and scholar Rhianos of Crete as describing Itonê (thought to be Itonia) in his *Thessalika* with the Homeric epithet "well-greaved."[73] While Simonides' mythical tale of a fatal military exercise of Itonos' daughters, Athena Itonia and her sister Iodama, should probably be understood as taking place in Boiotia, there is the underlying conception that the Itonian goddess brought her martial character from Thessaly.[74] If there is credit in this conception that the Boiotian tradition presupposes that of Thessaly, we can infer a Thessalian war goddess even earlier from Alkaios' invocation of her at Boiotian Koroneia as Ἀθανάα πολε[μάδοκε].[75] Athena Itonia's role as the patron goddess of Jason in the *Argonautica* of Apollonios parallels her guardianship of other such heroic protégés as Herakles, Tydeus, Diomedes, Odysseus and Telemachos in war and other dangerous adventures. Still, the Rhodian poet chose to mix with warcraft other technologies of Athena, as he has Itonia cover Jason with the elaborate scarlet cloak of her own weaving and serve as the shipwright of the Argo.[76] Patron of craft may have been a role of Athena Itonia in her Thessalian cult, but there is no assurance of this from the

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The floruit of Aristomedon, the Argive sculptor who made the bronze thank-offering of the Phokians at Delphi, would then be in the same period; see *RE* II, 1896, col. 947, s.v. Aristomedon 2) (C. Robert); Sauer 1887, pp. 16–18.

72 See below, pp. 34–56.

73 Rhianos *FGrH* 265 F 29 (Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2. 175): τοὶ δ' ἤδη ἐπὶ νηὸν εὐκνήμιδος Ἰτώνης.

74 Simonides of Keos, *FGrH* 8 F 1; for the text, see below, Chapter Two, footnote 115; for Iodama, see below, Chapter Two, pp. 132–137.

75 Alc. (quoted in Strabo 9.2.29 [411]), Voigt 1971, pp. 305–306, fr. 325. For extended treatment of the origin and martial character of Athena Itonia in Boiotia, see below, Chapter Two.

76 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.721–723: Αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισι θεᾶς Τριτωνίδος ἔργον, / δίπλακα πορφυρέην περονήσατο, τήν οἱ ὄπασσεν / Παλλάς, 1.550–552: Πηλιάδες κορυφῇσιν ἐθάμβεον εἰσορόωσαι / ἔργον Ἀθηναίης Ἰτωνίδος, ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς / ἥρωας χείρεσσιν ἐπικραδάοντας ἐρετμά. 1.723–724: ὅτε πρῶτον δρυόχους ἐπεβάλλετο νηὸς / Ἀργοῦς, καὶ κανόνεσσι δάε ζυγὰ μετρήσασθαι. I follow Fränkel (1961) in reading Ἰτωνίδος of the MSS over the variant Τριτωνίδος; for what it is worth, the scholiast on this line has no doubt that the Itonian byname is correct: ὁ μέντοι Ἀπολλώνιος οὐκ ἂν λέγοι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κορωνείαι ἐπικλήσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλικῆς Ἰτωνίας; see also Graninger 2011, p. 50 n. 20.

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Argonautika alone, since Apollonios had the license to adapt the character of Athena Itonia to his own creative purposes.[77]

According to sources that are late but not necessarily unhistorical, trophies of war, monuments in stone and bronze financed by tithes of spoils, and weapons of defeated enemies, were set up with their dedicatory inscriptions at Itonian sanctuaries in Thessaly.[78] Making such dedications to Athena Itonia may have been appropriate not only for the prominence of her cult and sanctuaries in Thessaly but also for her role as a goddess of war. Such logic likely underlay the Thessalians' dedication at some time in the Classical period of twelve bronze cows of the sculptor Phradmon, spoil of the Illyrians, which were set up at the gateway to a sanctuary of Athena Itonia of uncertain location.[79] Images of cows may at first thought seem an odd dedication for the celebration of military victory, but the intention may well have been an artistic memorial of the number of animals sacrificed as part of the victory celebration,[80] and, in any case, the obviously great expense of the dedication conveys the extent of the

77 The Scholiast to Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.721–722, calls particular attention to this peaceful side of the relationship of Itonis and Jason, noting that the robe in place of military gear is a beautiful refinement, and that this is proper since the goddess is receiving the hero as a non-belligerent into the company of women (ἀστείως δὲ οὐ πολεμικῇ σκευῇ χρώμενον εἰσάγει, ἀλλ' ἐσθῆτι κοσμούμενον· πρῶτον μέν, ὅτι ἀπόλεμον αὐτὸν ἐκάλει, ἔπειτα, ὅτι καὶ γυναικῶν μόνων ἡ πόλις, αἳ μάλιστα τοῖς τοιούτοις χαίρουσι.). Cf. Mili 2015, pp. 233–234, for the evidence of Athena Itonia as a military goddess, but one whose martial nature is mitigated by some peaceful traits of craft and music.

78 See *ThesCRA*, I, pp. 298–302 for numerous examples of this practice with references and bibliography.

79 *Anth. Pal.* 9.743: Θεσσαλαὶ αἱ βόες αἵδε· παρὰ προθύροισι δ' Ἀθάνας / ἑστᾶσιν, καλὸν δῶρον, Ἰτωνιάδος· / πᾶσαι χάλκειαι, δυοκαίδεκα, Φράδμονος ἔργον, / καὶ πᾶσαι γυμνῶν σκῦλον ἀπ' Ἰλλυριῶν. ("These cows are Thessalian. They stand beside the entry gates of Itonian Athena, a beautiful gift, all of bronze, twelve of them, the work of Phradmon, and all of them spoil of naked Illyrians."). For Phradmon of Argos, see Richter 1970, pp. 174–175 and n. 79, 254; *RE* XX, 1941, cols. 739–740, s.v. Phradmon (G. Lippold). Pliny (*HN* 34.49) makes Phradmon a contemporary of Polykleitos and Myron. The Palatine Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* 9.743) classifies the poem among the epideictic epigrams and attributes it to the third-century Syracusan Theodoridas. From this attribution and for want of evidence of a battle of Thessalians and Illyrians in the fifth century, Heinrich Swoboda (1903, pp. 211–212 and n. 28) assigned the victory to 335 BC, and Arthur Mahler (1902, pp. 101–102) to Parmenion's defeat of the Illyrian Dardanoi in 356 BC, both lowering the floruit of Phradmon accordingly. The question remains open: see Biesantz 1965, p. 136 and nn. 203–204; Corso 2001; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 224 and n. 17; Mili 2015, p. 227 n. 66.

80 See Chamoux 1991, pp. 9–32, for other dedicated images of bulls, including the famous example of Myron offered on the Athenian Akropolis, ca. mid-fifth century BC. For the association of bull sacrifice and votives of small bronze bulls, see Burkert 1985, p. 281. Cf. Pritchett 1971–1991, III, pp. 244–245, for Alexander the Great's dedication to Athena Lindia of the skulls of cattle sacrificed in thanksgiving for his victory at Gaugamela.

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victors' spoil and of their gratitude to the goddess of war. The martial character of Athena Itonia may likewise have motivated Pyrrhos of Epeiros to dedicate with an inscribed epigram the captured shields of Antigonos' Gallic auxiliaries in a sanctuary of Athena Itonia after his reduction of upper Macedonia and Thessaly in 275 BC.[81]

Moving from literary testimonia of dedications to actual extant votive objects appropriate to Athena Itonia as war goddess, we must consider the large treasure of finds from the excavation of her sanctuary near the modern Thessalian village of Philia.[82] This site yielded votives of a military nature (miniature and full-size weapons) side by side with an extraordinary number of objects of female usage (fibulae, pins, rings, pendants) dating from the Geometric to Classical periods.[83] The antithetical character of these two classes of dedications would not be unusual, if Athena Itonia, as both martial and female deity, were honored in both of these identities, either together or separately. Especially significant for an estimation of her nature are Archaic terracotta clay idols depicting a female figure, apparently a deity, in some instances wearing a helmet, artifacts that the excavator Demetrios Theocharis interpreted as early representations of the war goddess, Itonia or Athena Itonia.[84] Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier, in her major study of these finds, writes that

81 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.9–10 (ed. K. Ziegler, 1971). The dedicatory epigram attributed to Leonidas is *Anth. Pal.* 6.130: Τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς' Ιτωνίδι δῶρον' Αθάνᾳ / Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν, / πάντα τὸν'Αντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν· οὐ μέγα θαῦμα· / αἰχματαὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι. ("Pyrrhos the Molossian, after destroying the entire army of Antigonos, hung up as a gift to Itonian Athena the shields from the bold Gauls. No great wonder; the Aiakidai are warriors now and in the past."). See also Diod. Sic. 22.11.1; Pausanias (1.13.2–3) alone writes that this dedication was made at an Itonian shrine between Pherai and Larisa, reference points whose meaning have been much debated (see the discussion below, pp. 81–84). Niese (1893–1903, vol. 2, p. 55 n. 5) understood this Itonian sanctuary to be at Thessalian Koroneia, for which site see below, pp. 103–104 and footnotes 57–61. See also Lévêque's (1957, pp. 565–568) detailed treatment of Pyrrhos' dedication.

82 For extended discussion of this sanctuary in Thessaliotis, see below, pp. 66–78.

83 See Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002: weapons (or, in some cases, utilitarian knives): nos. 3–14, 214–223, 1061–1112, 1635–1678, 1758–1770, 1985–2463); feminine articles: nos. 248–841, 1460–1548, 1826–1863. See Mili 2015, pp. 339–341, for a summary of the finds from Philia; see also Mili (pp. 30, 31, 34–35, 158, 228–229) on the dedications, including the idea that the numerous bronze pins and fibulae may have been attached to dedications of womens' clothing. Mili commented (p. 35) on the dichotomy of weapons and feminine paraphernalia dedicated at Philia: "[It], we may argue, juxtaposes femininity with masculinity and plays with the relationship between the two …"

84 The figurines are dated generally as "Archaic." The terracotta example illustrated in the report of Theocharis 1965, Chron. B' 2, pp. 312–313, pl. 368:β, is not helmeted but wears a cylindrical headdress with a trailing veil. Beyond Philia are other early Thessalian figures of armed Athena, possibly Itonia; see examples from the sixth century BC in Biesantz

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some are utilitarian objects but allows that weapons and representations of warriors and horses are likely dedications.[85] Despite her view that there is no compelling connection between the characteristics of the gifted deity and the form of the gift, many of the votives may well have been given not only as representations of war booty, but also as suitable both to warrior dedicants and to the female deity of warfare.[86] In any case, the evidence from the sanctuary at Philia suggests the prominence of a military Athena Itonia at least as early as the Geometric period, a prominence markedly earlier than the fifth century BC with its evidence of "Athena Itonia" as the the σύνθημα of the Thessalian generals and the image of the armed goddess on the earliest coinage of Thessalian cities.[87] There is merit in the suggestion of Maria Mili that southwest Thessaly had a particularly militaristic ethos that was reinforced by the traditions of the invasions of the *Thessaloi* and *Boiotoi* and their conflict with one another in this region, traditions that found expression in the martial cult of Athena Itonia in her sanctuary near Philia.[88]

1965, p. 33 and pl. 57, L 85 (on the same plate, the running bronze female warrior [L 86] described as an Amazon, could just as well be Athena). Also noteworthy is a minimally published primitive bronze statuette in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens (NM 11715 with unspecific provenance of "Thessaly") of helmeted Athena of the "Palladion" type with closed stance, raised right arm holding a spear (lost), and possibly a shield (lost) on the left arm (Fig. 7). Moustaka (1983, p. 30 and pl. 15) dated the figure to the first half of the sixth century and considered it the oldest known model of armed Athena, but cf. *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 965, nos. 68–69, s.v. Athena; see also Biesantz 1965, pl. 76; Niemeyer 1960 p. 24 n. 46. Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997, p. 19 and n. 43) cited NM 11715 for the probability that the worship of Athena in Thessaly may have been older than in the rest of Greece.

85 Many of the dedications of equestrian images and weapons must reflect the prominence of the Itonian cult in the cavalry, but the dedication of models of shields, not part of cavalry armament, along with the evidence of some coins suggests again that the patronage of the Itonian cult included Thessalian foot-soldiers (Saal 2010, pp. 19–20 and nn. 87–88), although they were less important than the equestrian warriors.

86 Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002; 2005, especially pp. 121–122. See Pritchett 1971–1991, III, pp. 240–295, for common Greek practice of the dedication of a warrior's armor, or captured armor, replicas of armor, or other dedications financed from booty. Dedications to Athena Itonia probably reflect her shared military character with some dedicants and her shared gender with others. Cf. the Artemision at Brauron, where much of the votive jewelry may reflect the female gender of both dedicants and deity (see *ThesCRA*, vol. I, pp. 296–297, **120**). Some jewelry, particularly of precious metal, may have been given as much for its intrinsic value as for its suitability to the donor or the deity; see *ThesCRA*, vol. I, pp. 296–297, **126, 127**).

87 See above, footnote 71 for the fifth century as the likely chronological context of Pausanias' remark on the *synthema* of the Thessalian generals.

88 See Mili 2015, p. 183 and n. 123, including the quotation of Catherine Morgan that "the limited cult evidence available from western Thessaly shows such military interests."

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Thessalians apparently did not mint coins until the beginning of the fifth century BC,[89] and these early issues of the widely scattered Thessalian *poleis* were to some extent expressions of the growing independence of local civic governments against the tradition of aristocratic dynasties and a unified *tageia*.[90] From the earliest history of this coinage, images of armed Athena were a common type, and some of these images doubtless reflected worship of Athena Itonia as war goddess and patron of Thessalian military groups, a cultic devotion that endured through many shifts in political power and well into the Roman Imperial age.[91] In Thessaly, where there was more than one cult of martial Athena, and numismatic depictions of the goddess included no byname or other device that specified her cult, obviously not all types of armed Athena can be identified as the Itonian goddess.[92] But, without evidence to the contrary, Athena Itonia is not necessarily to be ruled out in any of these images. Thessalian *poleis* may have intended such types to depict one or more specific Athenas of martial character, martial Athena in general, or simply Athena, and Thessalian citizens may have had a corresponding latitude in their interpretation of the Athenas of these coined images. That said, it is highly probable, especially in parts of Thessaly where there were sanctuaries of the Itonian cult, that any number of numismatic types of the armed goddess were intended or perceived to represent Athena Itonia. Prominent among such impressions on Thessalian coins are the helmeted head of Athena and her full figure in helment, shield and spear, standing still or striding forward in attack.[93]

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89 *HN*^{2} 1911, p. 391.

90 Larsen 1968, pp. 20–21; see below, pp. 34–56, on the Itonian cult in the evolution of Thessalian politics.

91 See Martin 1985, pp. 34–165, for the history of the coinage of Thessaly from earliest examples in the fifth century to the demise of civic issues in the third century BC. For Thessalian coinage of the Roman Imperial age, see Burrer 1993.

92 See Mili 2015, pp. 105, 180 and n. 105, including the rejection of Lavva's (2001, p. 34) notion that all numismatic types of armed Athena should be taken as Itonia, but also Mili's speculation that such images on the coins of several cities of south-western Thessaly may have been influenced by the prominence of the Itonian shrine near Philia.

93 For types of the helmeted head of Athena, see Fig. **8** (silver tetartemorion, Pharsalos, 440–425 BC); Fig. **9** (silver trihemidrachm, Ainiania, 80–40 BC); Fig. **10** (bronze drachm, Pharsalos, late 5th–mid 4th c. BC); Fig. **11** (silver hemidrachm, Pharsalos. mid–late 5th c. BC); Fig. **12** (bronze obol, Thessalian League, 1st c. BC); Fig. **13** (silver drachma, Pharsalos, late 5th–mid 4th c. BC); for full figures of armed Athena standing, see Fig. **14** (silver obol, Pharkadon, 450–400 BC); for armed Athena moving to attack (promachos stance), see above, p. 18 and footnote 44, and Figs. **2**, **3**, **4**, **5**, **6**). For an extensive study of the Athena Promachos figures of the Archaic period, see Niemeyer 1960. Friedrich Burrer (1993, p. 50) suggested that the promachos image of Athena on coins from the Thessalian League of the Roman Imperial age depicted an unattested statue of Athena in the federal

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In many cases coin types of armed Athena are paired with various types of partial or whole horses or horsemen, showing Athena's patronage of equestrian warfare.[94] It is logical that this pairing of types should dominate, since the cavalry was throughout recorded Thessalian history the military force par excellence.[95] Less common than types of horses and horsemen are those of warriors with shield, spear, sword, or sling, apparently depicting hoplites and light-armed infantry, since the cavalry did not carry shields.[96] It is conceivable that an obverse type of Athena with full infantry arms paired with an equestrian type on the reverse side may have served a dual purpose in representing her

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sanctuary at Philia. Leon Lacroix's (1949, p. 127) observation that such numismatic images of Athena have archaizing traits suggests that Burrer's idea, if credible, could apply to earlier numismatic depictions of Athena and her supposed statues in various Itonian sanctuaries.

94 See, e.g., helmeted or fully armed types of Athena opposite images of horses grazing, prancing (Fig. **14**: silver obol, Pharkadon, ca. 450–400 BC), galloping (Fig. **2**: silver obol, Trikka, ca. 440–400 BC; Fig. **3**: silver obol of Perrhaibia, ca. 480–400 BC), or horse protome (Fig. **11**: silver hemidrachm of Pharsalos, mid–late 5th c. BC), leg of horse (Fig. **8**: silver tetartemorion, Pharsalos, ca. 440–425 BC), or riding horseman carrying a *lagobolos* and clad in the typical cavalry gear of chiton, chlamys, and petasos (Fig. **13**: silver drachm of Pharsalos, late 5th–mid 4th c. BC; Fig. **10**: bronze drachm, Pharsalos, late 5th–mid 4th c. BC). The petasos, or sun hat, said to originate in Thessaly, was thus another national numismatic symbol, as illustrated in Fig. **15** (silver hemiobol of Krannon, 5th–4th c. BC) with types of a petasos-clad head on the obverse and a horse protome on the reverse. For other such coins, see *BMC*, vol. 6, Thessaly, p. 39, nos. 2–6, pl. VIII:8–9 (Perrhaibia [Oloösson], 480–400 BC); p. 42, nos. 4, 6–8, pl. IX:3–4 (Pharkadon, 480–400 BC); p. 43, nos. 1–5, pl. IX:6–8 (Pharsalos, 480–400 BC) p. 51, nos. 9–11, pl. XI:8–9 (Trikka, 480–400 BC); Moustaka 1983, pp. 104–107, nos. 38 (Trikka [Hestiaiotis] second half of fifth c.), 40 (pl. 3: Kierion [Thessaliotis] first half of fifth c.), 46 (pl. 8: Perrhaibia, mid-fifth c), 47 (pl. 8: Perrhaibia, third quarter of fifth c.), 49 (pl. 8: Pharkadon [Hestiaiotis] mid-fifth c.), 50 (pl. 8: Pharkadon [Hestiaiotis] second half of fifth c.), 51 (pl. 9: Pharsalos [Phthia] mid-fifth c.) 52 a & b (pl. 9: Pharsalos [Phthia] second half of fifth c.), 53 (pl. 9: Pharsalos [Phthia] end of fifth c.), 56 (pl. 11: Trikka [Hestiaiotis] mid-fifth c.). *SNG* Cop. 3, no. 195 (Perrhaibia, 480–400 BC); no. 346 (Thessalian League, AD 161–180). *SNG* Newcastle (Pharsalos, ca. 450–400 BC; Thessalian League, second to first c. BC); *SNG* Berry, pt. 1, no. 560 (Thessalian League). See also Biesantz 1965, pls. 70–72, for coins from throughout tetradic and peroikic Thessaly that feature types of armed Athena, horses, and horsemen; also Burrer 1993, pp. 49–52, for such types on Thessalian coins of the Roman Imperial period.

95 Cf. Sordi 1958 for the acknowledgement of both modes of warfare in Thessaly, but the improbable idea that the hoplites were the predominant force. See below, pp. **xx**, for the advantages and disadvantages of cavalry and infantry respectively in the politics and landscape of Thessaly.

96 See Fig. **9** for a silver trihemidrachm of the Ainianians with the helmeted head of Athena on the obverse and a slinger in action on the reverse. Though Ainiania was just to the south of Thessaly, its coinage was probably influenced by neighboring Thessaliotis where the Itonian cult was so prominent.

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as the goddess of both cavalry and infantry.[97] Although, as will be seen shortly, we lack chronological precision about the formation of the early Thessalian unions and the first true cavalry, the commonality of later coin types among the various cities is probably evidence of an advanced degree of collective identity, political unity, and the fact that the martial character of Athena as Itonia as well as Polias and Hoplophoros was well established and widespread long before the first coins were issued.[98] The early numismatic iconography of armed Athena, equestrian types, and other military images becomes so embedded in the federal religion and politics of the Thessalians that it flourished in the fifth century BC and continued still later with the revival of strong Leagues in the fourth and second centuries BC.[99] Coin types of Athena variously depicted as on the attack or holding a miniature Nike and paired with a laurel-crowned Zeus or a prancing bridled horse, appeared with the refoundation of the Thessalian League following Flamininus' reformation of 196 BC[100] and continued to be issued during Thessaly's inclusion in the Roman province of Macedon after 146 BC. Evidence of the clear transition of Athena's military

97 See, e.g., Figs. **14**, **2**, **3**; Athena as patron of both cavalry and infantry may be illustrated further in a bronze drachm of Pharsalos with an obverse head of Athena and a reverse type of a riding cavalryman and a foot-soldier running behind (Fig. **10**).

98 See Saal 2010, p. 20, for the proposition that the images on the earliest coins of Thessaly reflect culture that goes back decades if not centuries, a proposition that in the case of Athena Itonia is corroborated by the finds from her sanctuary at Philia. For more on the association of Athena Itonia and the history of military horsemanship in Thessaly, see below, pp. 44–49.

99 See Fig. **16** (bronze drachm of Orthe, Thessalian League, ca. 360 BC). For other examples, see *BMC* vol. 6, Thessaly, pp. xxix and 48, no. 1 (pl. X. 17: Achaia Phthiotis, 302–286 BC), referred to (p. xxix) as federal coinage; pp. 43–44, nos. 6–20 (pl. IX. 11–16: Pharsalos, 400–344 BC); p. 45, nos. 21–26 (pl. IX. 17–18: Pharsalos, 300–190 BC). See also Karamesini-Oikonomidou, 1962 (Trikala, Demetrias, Philia); 1964 (Philia).

100 See Fig. **12** for a bronze obol of the Thessalian League of the first century BC pairing helmeted Athena opposite standing Athena with grounded shield and holding a Nike in the extended right hand, thus compounding the martial and protective image of the goddess. See Fig. **5** (silver stater, Thessalian League, 2nd half of 2nd c. BC) with an obverse type of the laureate head of Zeus and a reverse type of Athena in the promachos stance. Such pairings at this time of Athena and Zeus would suit not only their mythical kinship but also the fact that the cults of Athena Itonia and Zeus Eleutherios were uniquely and importantly combined in the state religion of the Late Hellenistic League of the Thessalians; for evidence of this in the sanctuaries and festivals of the two gods, see Graninger 2011, pp. 43–44, 85–86 (Athena and Zeus), 46–67 (Athena), 67–85 (Zeus). For other associations of Zeus with Athena Itonia, see below, Chapter Two, pp. 120–132 and footnotes 134–180, on the statues of Athena Itonia and Zeus in the temple at Koroneia in Boiotia; Chapter Three, pp. 171–182 and footnote 23–60, on a relation of Athena Itonia and Olympian Zeus that is at least topographical; Chapter Four, pp. 225–226 and footnote 75–76, on the inclusion of sacrifice to Zeus at a celebration of the Itonia on the island of Amorgos.

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patronage from Greek to Roman rule is the continuity of the coined image of armed Athena, including its retention on the reverse type when the obverse is devoted to the portrait of a Roman emperor.[101] As previously noted, it is possible that some of the numismatic types of armed Athena pertained specifically to the kindred cults of Athena Polias or Pallas Hoplophoros. Nevertheless, given the ethnic prominence of Athena Itonia attested in the evidence adduced to this point, it is likely that a significant number of the types of armed Athena are symbols of the Itonian cult.[102] In sum, the numismatic evidence of Thessaly may serve as a parallel to Pausanias' testimony that "Athena Itonia" was the regular battle signal of the Thessalian generals and may support the hypothesis of an early and enduring prominence of Athena Itonia as a military patron of the Thessalians in both their individual *poleis* and their *koina*.[103]

We can conclude that the fact of Athena Itonia's being a military deity contributed strongly to the breadth, strength, and endurance of her cult in Thessaly. The devotion to this goddess was tied up with the patriotism of warfare, which was a frequent activity in the history of the Thessalians, both in the contention among their own regions, cities, and political classes, and in conflicts with external foes.[104] The goddess of this cult, whether by the name Itonia alone or as Athena with the byname, was as early as the Geometric period the principal military patron of the Thessalians in at least one of their regions. If the Thessalians saw the fully evolved Athena Itonia as the protector of

101 See Fig. **6** for a bronze assaria of the Thessalian League featuring Emperor Claudius on the obverse and on the reverse Athena in the promachos stance; Fig. **17** shows a bronze diassion of the League with Marcus Aurelius depicted on the obverse and armed Athena on the reverse. For other examples, see *BMC*, vol. 6, Thessaly, pp. 1–6, nos. 1–67, passim (pl. 1. 1–7: Thessalian League, 196–146 BC); pp. 7–9, nos. 77–81, 86–87, 89 (pl. 1. 12, 14: Thessalian League, Roman Imperial period); Moustaka 1983, p. 108, no. 18 (pl. 11: Thessalian League, second c. BC), 58 (pl. 11: Thessalian League, 48–45 BC), 59 (pl. 13: Thessalian League; with head of Augustus, 27 BC–AD 14), 60, pl. 11: Thessalian League, 50–45 BC); for the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period, see also Rogers 1932, pp. 18–57; Burrer 1993, pp. 45, 50, 61; Graninger 2011, p. 43 and n. 2, with reference to *SNG* 3, *Thessalia*, pl. 6–7, no. 269–328.

102 So Roscher *Lex.* vol. 2.1, 1890–1894, col. 569, s.v. Itonia (W. Drexler).

103 There is possibly an indirect allusion to Itonia's military reputation that had currency in Latin literature. Most MSS of Lucan 6.402 read *Primus Thessalicae rector telluris Ionos.* Since Ionos seems to be a *hapax legomenon*, at least in the list of Thessalian kings, there may be some cogency in the emendation to *Itonus*, the name of the legendary ruler of Thessaly; see, e.g., Haskins [1887] 1971 on Lucan 6.402. See the same tale in Cassiod. *Var.* 3.31.4. Since Lucan's *rector* is the inventor of metallurgy in a moral about the role of metal in the escalation of military technology, an Itonus in this role may have been derived from the character of Athena Itonia as war-goddess.

104 Thessaly's reputation as a land of war lasted through the Roman era; see Mili 2015, p. 296 and n. 192.

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civic as well as military institutions, a civilized object of patriotic worship who brings intelligence, tactics and craft to the business of war, a goddess with both masculine and feminine spheres of influence, then Athena Itonia was a more attractive and varied military persona than her brother Ares, whose activities are more exclusively directed to the moil and savagery of war.[105] Though Itonia as Athena operates in the male and military sphere of her father Zeus, her character even in the military sphere likely shares both explicitly and by association some of the more peaceful and female aspects of domestic craft (τέχνη) and inherited wisdom (μῆτις).

3 The Itonian Cult in the Political and Military Traditions of Thessaly

Beside the literary and iconographical evidence of the early prominence and military character of Athena Itonia, another line of investigation may allow further consideration of the history and traditions of the cult in Thessaly, and particularly its propagation there. This inquiry springs in part from the conjectured origins of the Itonian cult at the site of Iton or Itonos and the premises that the propagation of the cult was tied in some manner and degree to the political and military history of Thessaly and that it flourished for many centuries in spite of the fluctuations of that history. Although much of the evidence of Thessalian prehistoric politics, warfare, and religion that is gathered from extant literature tends to be late, disparate, sketchy, and often conflated with mythology, modern scholarship's synthesis of this evidence with that of linguistics and archaeology is able to yield at least some reasonable hypotheses and tentative conclusions about the propagation of the worship of Athena Itonia throughout Thessaly.

The early history of the Itonian cult in Thessaly would have been influenced by the political history of the region, which was rooted to a great extent in geography and the settlement and mixing of *ethnê*. Geographical Thessaly comprises two immense fertile plains drained by the Peneios River and its tributaries, with access to the Aegean Sea through harbors on the Pagasitic Gulf (see Map 2). In the historical evolution of Thessaly these plains were eventually seen as subdivided into four major regions, the *tetrades* of Thessaliotis (south central), Histiaiotis (northwest), Pelasgiotis (northeast), and Phthiotis

105 See Jeffrey Hurwit's (1999, p. 15 and n. 17) treatment of this point, showing that Athena and Ares are opponents in the *Iliad* (5.855–861, 875–876), but, contrarily, that in Hesiod (*Theog.* 926) and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (8–13) Athena delights in war and strife. See also Mili 2015, pp. 233–234, on the nuanced character of Thessalian Itonia.

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(southeast), which are fortified all about by mountain ranges pierced by a few narrow passes and thus, in the words of Max Cary, "fitted by nature to become the seat of a single territorial state."[106] It was apparently invaders, however, who most fully realized this potential. When Thessaly emerged from the shadows of prehistory its dialect was an admixture of West and Northwest Greek with the earlier and dominant Aiolic of the region, a linguistic profile that is consistent with the testimony of Herodotus (7.176.4) that the Θεσσαλοί, the *eponymoi* of all Thessaly, came from Thesprotia in Epeiros to inhabit the Aiolian land, first residing in the south-central *tetras*, whose name Thessaliotis was said to reflect this early settlement.[107] The evidence of dialects tells us little about historical chronology but it lends credence to traditions that survive from as early as the Archaic or Classical periods. According to these traditions, the invading *Thessaloi* first settled for some length of time in Thessaliotis (at Kierion according to legend),[108] amid the indigenous Aiolians and an earlier group of Epeirote settlers at Arne, the *Boiotoi*, whom the *Thessaloi* subsequently defeated and drove south to the land that took their name.[109] Eventually the *Thessaloi* extended their sovereignty over the other three *tetrades*, which retained their Aiolic names.[110] The existence by the Classical period of this

106 Cary 1949, p. 64. On the geography of Thessaly: Westlake [1935] 1993, pp. 2–7; Larsen 1968, p. 14; Morgan 2003, pp. 18–20; Stamatopoulou 2007, pp. 213–215; Philippson *GL*, vol. 1, the map entitled "Thessaliens Siedlungsgeschichte: Die antiken Landschaften."

107 The name Thessaliotis is first attested in the early fifth century (Hekataios *FGrH* 1 F 133; Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 52). On the invasion of the *Thessaloi*, see, Larsen 1960a, pp. 229–230, including his observation (p. 130 n. 4) that although the usual route from Epeiros to Thessaly would have brought the invaders to the area of Gonnoi in Histiaiotis, that location is close to the border of Thessaliotis; see also Larsen 1968, pp. 13–14.

108 See *IACP*, pp. 693–694, no. 398, s.v. Kierion.

109 Thucydides (1.12.3) relays a tradition that Thessalians drove the Boiotians southward from Arne sixty years after the fall of Troy, but he does not imply that this occurred as soon as the Thessalians invaded Thessaly; cf. Mili 2015, pp. 220–221. The prehistory of Thessaly is too opaque to tell us to what extent the three separate *ethnê* of tradition, indigenous Aiolians, and immigrant *Boiotoi* and *Thessaloi*, reflected historical collectives with distinct territories and dialects, and to what extent they were products of later myth-making by the Thessalians and Boiotians. The fourth-century historian Archemachos (*FGrH* 424 F 1 [Ath. 6.264a–b]) brings up again the expulsion of the Boiotians, adding that some of them chose to stay in Thessaly as *penestai*. In any case, evidence of the historical period suggests that all three descendant groups had embraced the worship of Athena Itonia at some early time while residing in Thessaly.

110 Thessaliotis: Philippson *GL* 1, pp. 60–62. For the evidence of dialects, see C.D. Buck 1965, pp. 4–5, 149–151. Hdt. 7.176. In one legend of the settlement of the *ethnos* of the *Thessaloi* (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 8.44; Charax, *FGrH* 103 F 6, [Steph. Byz. s.v. Δώριον]; Intzesiloglou 1995, pp. 11–18 and 2006, p. 223) the Heraklid Aiatos crossed the Acheloos River from Epeiros into Thessaliotis, where he sired the hero Thessalos who defeated the Boiotians of Arne.

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tradition of invasions and conquest is inferred from the coinage of Kierion, which features in the fifth century the image of Athena and in the fourth century that of Zeus paired with Arne, the mythical daughter of Aiolos.[111] The tradition of invading *Thessaloi* can be pushed back at least to the Archaic period, if it is reflected in a discovered shrine of ancestor worship at Georgiko in western Thessaly, the finds of which include a sixth- or seventh-century tile inscribed]*EAIATIION*[. From this inscription the excavator inferred the word Aiation, that is, a shrine of Aiatos, who, according to Polyaenus, was the legendary leader of the Thessalian invasion from Epeiros and father of the eponymous hero Thessalos.[112]

Homer (*Il.* 2.676–679) tells of a Thessalos whose sons bring to Troy the contingents of Kos, where, according to Pherekydes (*FGrH* 3 F 78), Thessalos was the son of Herakles and the Koan princess Chalkiope; see the various geneaologies of Thessalos in *RE* VI (2nd ser.) 1936, cols. 163–164, s.v. Thessalos 1) (F. Schachermeyr); see also *RE* I, 1894, col. 940, s.v. Aiatos (U. Hoefer). The historical invasion from Epeiros was part of the general prehistoric migrations (Stählin 1924, p. 130; Larsen 1960a, pp. 229–230; 1968, pp. 13–14). Cf. Bruno Helly (OCD[4] 2012, p. 1467, s.v. Thessaly) for the more general proposition that the *Thessaloi* probably came from the Balkans. See Larsen 1960a, pp. 229–230, *contra* Marta Sordi's idea (1958, ch. 1, esp. pp. 10–11) that the invading *Thessaloi* came from the Doric islands of the Aegean and landed at the Gulf of Pagasai. Κιέριον: the *koinê* name (*IG* IX 2. 528, line 7) for the Aiolic Κιάριον (*IG* IX 2. 258, line 2; 260 B, line 1), is considered by Steph. Byz. (s.v. Arne) and some modern scholars (e.g., Mackil 2013, p. 158 "Arne [Kierion]"; Mili 2015, p. 221 and n. 36) to be Arne by another name, but, as Kieron has been identified with ruins on a hill near modern Pyrgos Kieriou, ca. 11 km east of modern Karditsa (Map. 2), others consider them to have been separate places. Ancient Thessalian Arne has been identified as near modern Sophades, ca. 4 km south of Kierion at the place called Makria Magoula. Both sites are close to the modern Sophaditikos River; see Stählin 1924, pp. 130–134; Milojčić 1955, pp. 229–231; *Brill's NPAnt*, vol. 2, 2003, col. 17, s.v. Arne [2], (H. Kramolisch). Kierion and Arne: *Brill's NPAnt*, vol. 3, 2003, col. 128, s.v. Cierium (H. Kramolisch). *RE* II, 1896, col. 1202, s.v. Arne [1] [G. Hirschfeld]); cf. *RE* XI, 1922, col. 380, s.v. Kierion (W. Kroll); *KlPauly* vol. 2, 1969, col. 208, s.v. Kierion (E. Meyer); Lauffer, p. 581, s.v. Pyrgos Kieriu (E. Hanschmann; H. Kramolisch); Radt, vol. 7, map 1. See *IG* IX 2. 261, for Kierion in a boundary dispute with Metropolis in the time of Tiberius. Augustus Meineke's (1852a, pp. 152–153) emendation of *Skyros* to *Cieros* at Catullus 64.35 has been widely accepted.

111 See, e.g., Fig. **18** (silver trihemiobol of Kierion, ca. 400–344 BC), a coin featuring the laureate head of Zeus paired with a kneeling nymph Arne. Stählin (1924, p. 131) interpreted the kneeling Arne on coins of Kierion as allegorizing the *Thessaloi's* defeat of the *Boiotoi*, but in all the renditions of these images that I have observed the figure of Arne is playing with astragaloi, which seems an unlikely symbol of subjection. Cf. Mili 2015, p. 221 and n. 36, for these coins as evidence for the thinking that Kierion and Arne were the same place.

112 See Polyaenus, *Strat.* 8.44. For the excavations, see *ArchDelt* 52 (1997) *Chron.* pp. 478–489; *ArchDelt* 53 (1998) *Chron.* p. 439; Intzesiloglou 1995; 2002, pp. 289–295; 2006, p. 223. The site includes a Mycenaean tholos tomb and, nearby, the supposed shrine of ancestral worship of the seventh–sixth cc. BC, where the votives included, in addition to the inscribed tile, clay idols of men and horses and iron daggers. For a recent discussion of the

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The first section of this chapter credited the hypotheses that the cult of Athena Itonia began at Homeric Iton or Strabo's Itonos in the perioikic region of Achaia Phthiotis,[113] when a pre-Greek or Aiolic goddess or heroine took the name Itonia ("maid of Iton") from such a city and that her cult eventually spread from there into greater Thessaly, at some point in that process becoming unified with a cult of Athena.[114] If these propositions have merit, it is plausible that the Itonian cult spread widely and early enough to have been adopted from the indigenous Aiolians by the *Boiotoi* and *Thessaloi*, who settled in the western plain of Thessaliotis following their successive migrations from Northwest Greece in prehistoric time.[115] This plausibility rests with some qualification on later linguistic evidence, which indicates that both groups of Epeirote invaders resided in Thessaliotis long enough for their West-Northwest Greek dialect to acquire significant local Aiolic elements.[116] Thucydides gives

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evidence, including agreement with reservations (of R. Parker 2011, p. 291) about the inscription, see Mili 2015, pp. 180, 334 and nn. 40–41 (in *Appendix 2*); see also pp. 83–84, 184, where Mili takes Polyaenus' mythic detail of Aiatos' marriage to his sister Polykleia as the point of departure for an interesting discursus on the importance of women in Thessalian cultural thinking and a comparison with the historical polygamy of Philip II of Macedon.

113 *Il.* 2.696; Strabo 9.5.8 (433).

114 See above, pp. **[ca. 5–9]**; *Etym. Mag.* p. 479; Eust. *Il.* 324, 26; Schol. Callim. 6.74–75]. Nilsson 1906, pp. 86, 89; Trümpy 1997, p. 224.

115 Theocharis 1964, p. 249 and n. 13; Papahatzis 1981, p. 36; see also Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 222, where the likely precedence of the Itonian cult among the Aiolic peoples explains why and how this worship could be adopted by both *Boiotoi* and *Thessaloi*, although legend has them as eventual enemies.

116 When Thucydides (7.57) names the Boiotians among the Aiolians who fought on the side of Syracuse in 413 BC, he simply means that Aiolic was a prominent element of their dialect by the time they migrated southward from Thessaly. See C.D. Buck, 1965, pp. 4–5, 152–156, for this point and the suggestion that the West and Northwest Greek elements in the dialect of the Boiotians indicate that they, like the later Thessalians, came to Thessaly from Epeiros. This traditional view of the formation of the Boiotian dialect has recently been questioned by Guy Vottéro (2006) and H.N. Parker (2008, p. 455). Wilhelm Schultze (1904, p. 30) first suggested that the *Boiotoi* took their name from Mt. Boion near their original home in the Pindos range, an idea which, if credible, would give some credence to the tradition that the Boiotians had a continuous collective identity of some degree from the time of their emigration from Epeiros, during a long residence in Thessaly, and through their settlement in Boiotia. On the etymology in Mt. Boion, see also J.B. Bury 1914, vol. 1, p. 60; C.D. Buck 1965, p. 5; Chantraine 1999, s.v. Βοιωτός. R.J. Buck (1979, p. 75 and n. 2) expressed skepticism about this etymology as well as about origins of the ethnic *Boiotoi* in the supposed eponymous ancestral hero Boiotos or in βοῦς Κάδμου, but the possibility of an Epeirote origin in Mt. Boion still has advocates; see, e.g., Schachter 2016a, p. 20 and n. 31. Cf. Charles Edson's (1969, p. 42 n. 1) view that J.A.O. Larsen (1968, p. 27) oversimplified the history in stating that "the Boiotians entered [Boiotia] at about the time of the Dorian migration, but that they themselves were not Doric or Northwest Greek but an

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the earliest extant testimony to a logographic tradition that sixty years after the Trojan War the *Thessaloi* drove the Boiotians southward to the region that took their name, and in Strabo we have the claim that this supposed flight from Arne was the occasion for the propagation of the cult of Athena Itonia from Thessaly to Boiotia and the founding of her sanctuary at Boiotian Koroneia.[117] In consideration of the shared polytheism of the Greeks, such ready adoption of an indigenous cult by immigrant *Boiotoi* and *Thessaloi* is quite plausible.[118] Although the chronology of these invasions is uncertain, and although we can infer only a very rough chronology of the early propagation of the Itonian cult from Iton or Itonos to the rest of Thessaly and to Thessaliotis in particular, the tradition that surfaces in Strabo's testimony to an early presence of the cult in western Thessaly has gained some credibility in recent decades by virtue of the excavations of the Itonian sanctuary at Philia in Thessaliotis. The fact that this *temenos* dates back to Middle Geometric times or earlier lends some credibility to the speculation that the cult was already present in Thessaliotis when the Boiotians and Thessalians migrated there from Epeiros.[119] As the *Thessaloi* eventually spread their hegemony through the rest of geographic Thessaly,[120] a

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Aeolic speaking group dislodged from farther north by the Thessalians." Most unlikely is the legend conveyed by Strabo (9.2.3 [401]) that the Boiotians first came to Thessaly when driven out of Boiotia by the Thracians and Pelasgians and that together with the Arnaioi, with whom they settled, they came to be called Boiotians. Since Boiotia is in great part fertile, and without saying that it never suffered famine (for grain shortages throughout Boiotia in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, see Mackil 2013, pp. 305–310; see also Roesch 1965a; *SEG* XXII 410, ll. 4–6; Migeotte 1984, no. 10), it is circumstantially more likely that the Boiotian migration to Thessaly was from less fertile Epeiros (cf. Thuc. 1.2.3 on this motive and direction of prehistoric Greek migrations generally). The genealogical myth that a nymph Arne, daughter of the Aiolian king Aiolos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄρνη), was the mother of Boiotos by Poseidon (Diod. Sic. 4.67.6–7) is tenuous evidence for the identification of Arne as the capital city of the Aiolians before the coming of the Boiotians (*pace* Lauffer, p. 581, s.v. Pyrgos Kieriu [E. Hanschmann and H. Kramolisch]). See below, Chapter Two, passim, for more on the ethnic identity of the *Boiotoi* in relation to the Itonian cult at Boiotian Koroneia.

117 Thuc. 1.12.3; Strabo, 9.2.29 (411). Thucydides' testimony is generally thought to go back to Hellanikos of Mytilene or an earlier logographer. The problems of historicity in the testimonia of Thucydides and Strabo about the migration from Thessaly to Boiotia will be relegated largely to Chapter Two, below, pp. 88–105.

118 See Stählin 1924, p. 85.

119 For the complicated and uncertain early chronology of the sanctuary at Philia, see below, pp. 68–71.

120 Helly (1991, pp. 36–43), leaving aside the questions of the time and origin of the invasion of the *Thessaloi*, offered a scenario of the stages and directions of their conquest from Thessaliotis to the other three *tetrades* during the eighth to sixth centuries BC; cf., however, later, *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 1467, s.v. Thessaly (B. Helly) for the view that *Thessaloi* from

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devotion to the Itonian cult shared by conquerors and conquered probably mitigated somewhat the difficult integration of immigrant Thessalians and indigenous peoples. The *Thessaloi* may have so assimilated the cult of Athena Itonia as a military goddess, that they fostered a tradition that she was their patron in the invasion from northwest Greece and the extention of their hegemony over all Thessaly.[121]

Although the preceding hypothesis of a widespread pre-Boiotian / Thessalian progress of the Itonian cult throughout Thessaly from Iton or Itonos is most plausible, in lieu of a probative case that the cult began with the Aiolic people or their pre-Greek predecessors, at least brief consideration must be given to other possible evolutions of the Itonian cult in Thessaly. Despite the lack of identification of Itonos or of evidence of the worship of Itonia in Epeiros,[122] it is at least conceivable that the invading *Thessaloi* brought the cult across the Pindos into Thessaliotis where it was adopted by the Boiotians before their southward migration and from there it spread eastward *pari passu* with the extension of Thessalian political and military power over Aiolic Thessaly. To retain a cognate association of the cult with the town Iton or Itonos as located by Homer and Strabo in Achaia Phthiotis, this hypothesis would have to discount the earlier antiquity of the toponym Iton and posit that the conquering *Thessaloi* named that place after their native goddess.[123] A slight variation on this hypothesis is that the *Boiotoi* and the *Thessaloi* shared this cult in their native Epeiros before their respective migrations into Thessaly.[124]

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ca. 1000 BC gradually expanded their rule throughout Thessaly from the southern half of its eastern plain. Herodotus (1.56.3; cf. 8.43) tells a tradition of the Dorians living in Phthiotis in southeastern Thessaly in the time of Deukalion and wandering to various places in Thessaly and beyond, but Jonathan Hall (1997, p. 62) plausibly suggests that Herodotus was rationalizing conflicting traditions by a migrational explanation that fitted territorial variants. The question of Dorian origins in Thessaly is complicated further by variant applications of the toponym Histiaiotis (Hall 1997, pp. 63–64).

121 See Mili 2015, pp. 251–252, 255, for the Thessalian celebration of Athena Itonia as a goddess of invasion and migration. Unless the *Thessaloi* brought the Itonian cult with them from Epeiros, the goddess's aid in the Thessalian expedition from Epeiros was obviously retrospective fiction.

122 See above, footnote 6, on the unlikely claim of an Itonos in Epeiros.

123 Cf. above, footnote 17, the reference to Farnell, for this manner of naming.

124 Edson (1969, p. 42 n. 1) apparently implied this in citing the fact that the *Boiotoi* and *Thessaloi* shared the cult of Athena Itonia as strong evidence that they came to Thessaly from the same area, namely the Pindos region. So Dimitrios Samsaris (1984 p. 62) interpreted Edson, though he refers to the place of origin as Δυτική Μακεδονία. Samsaris' epigraphic reference (in an inscription found at Βεύη [Μπάνιτσα], Florina; see Homolle 1893, p. 635) to a sanctuary of Athena is, however, difficult to ascribe to her Itonian cult on the basis of the following lettering: ἱερόν ΙΑΤC / Ἀθη(νᾶς).

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A still further hypothesis, which takes something from the preceding two, is also not completely out of the question, namely, that in the period of the Boiotian and Thesssalian migrations to Thessaly an Aiolic cult of Itonia existed only in the Thessaliote region. In that scenario, again the cult would likely have been disseminated eastward by the conquering *Thessaloi*. In any case Thessaliotis clearly became an important locale in the historical relations of the Thessalian overlords and the cult of Athena Itonia.[125] For the present purpose of inferring something of the history of the cult from the evolution of Thessalian political and military history it may not matter greatly whether the conquering *Thessaloi* gradually adopted the local Itonian cult and sanctuaries of the Aiolic people or the *Thessaloi* came to those people as the cult's first missionaries. In either case we can begin to envision how the cult fared in subsequent history. Whether the evidence is very slim as in the prehistoric centuries or somewhat more adequate as in the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods, the cult appears to have retained a fairly regular degree of stability amid a number of evolutions and fluctuations in the political and military organization of the various Thessalian *ethnê, poleis* and successive *koina*. The consequent lesson from Thessaly is one that will be seen in the following chapter on the Itonian cult in Boiotia, namely, that religion rather than political and military organization is the strongest and most enduring manifestation of collective identities.[126]

Along with the apparent conquest of Thessaly by its Epeirote invaders came the formation of a sub-class of serfs (πενέσται), probably comprising mainly subjugated Aiolic plainsmen, perhaps some of the *Boiotoi*, and even part of the lower class of the *Thessaloi* themselves.[127] It is unlikely that the Thessalian conquest of the Aiolic people would have diminished the role of an indigenous Athena Itonia as an important ethnic deity,[128] for the *penestai* would have retained their native cult while its adoption by their rulers could have been to

125 See Graninger 2011, p. 2, for the attractive suggestion that, although the Philia sanctuary served western Thessaly from prehistoric time, a sentimental reason for its being made the special domain of the late Hellenistic *koinon* of the Thessalians was its proximity to the legendary invasion route of the *Thessaloi*.

126 A comprehensive study of the relation of cult and collective political identity in Thessaly is Graninger 2011; for this topic in a variety of Greek *poleis* and cults, see Freitag, Funke, and Haake 2006; Funke and Haake 2013; Mackil 2013.

127 *Penestai*: Pollux (*Onom.* 3.83) describes the *penestai* as between freemen and slaves. For this class of Thessalian serfs, see also Arist. *Pol.* 1269a; Moggi 1974, 1260–1263; *CAH*^{2} III 3, pp. 295–297 (W.G.G. Forrest); *CAH*^{2} III 1, p. 680 (A.M. Snodgrass); Corvisier 1981; Westlake [1935] 1993, pp. 27–28; Ducat 1994; Helly 1995, pp. 98–99, 184–186, 303–309; Hall 1997, pp. 35, 71; Sprawski 1999, pp. 17, 108–109; Morgan 2003, pp. 190–192; Graninger 2011, pp. 10, 12–13, 15–16, 23–24, 50.

128 Stählin 1924, p. 85.

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some degree a diplomatic and politically unifying factor.[129] The sharing of religious identity despite the political inequality between the limited number of Thessalian elites and their more numerous political inferiors may even have mitigated to some extent the unrest that was natural and increasingly manifest between these classes.[130] In the less likely case that the invading *Thessaloi* imported the cult, then they would have imposed it on their lower-caste subjects.

Other players in the relation of the political and military history of Thessaly to the worship of Athena Itonia were the περίοικοι, inhabitants of the outlying regions of Achaia Phthiotis, Magnesia, and Perrhaibia, some of them probably refugees and exiles who settled in the peripheral mountains rather than submit to Thessalian rule in the plains.[131] The *perioikoi* were a factor in the political and military history of Thessaly in that the Thessalian *poleis* in their contentions with one another regularly tried either to expand their rule among the perioikic peoples or to engage them as allies.[132] Even though we have explicit evidence of the month *Itonios* in sacred calendars of the perioikic regions of Achaia Phthiotis and Perrhaibia only for the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods,[133] numismatic evidence supports the probability that these inhabitants of the mostly mountainous regions around Thessaly had the Itonian cult as part of their native religion from very early times.[134] In any case the *perioikoi* who were Aiolic refugees from the Thessalian conquest would likely

129 To the extent that the subordination of the *penestai* was more economic than political (see Stamatopoulou 2007, p. 315 n. 34), some members of this class probably maintained a level of participation in the largely military cult of Athena Itonia.

130 On the restive relationship of the *penestai* with their oligarchs, see Larsen 1968, pp. 22–23; also Snodgrass 1980, p. 108.

131 *Perioikoi*: Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.1.19) refers to περίοικοι, but synonymous are ὑπήκοοι of the Thessalians (Thuc. 2.101.2; 4.78.6; 8.3.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.9), and, probably, σύμμαχοι (Hdt. 8.27.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.19; *Syll.*[3] 184); see also Busolt-Swoboda, pp. 1478–1479 (*penestai* and *perioikoi*); *RE* XIX, 1938, cols. 831–832, s.v. Περίοικοι (J.A.O. Larsen); *CAH*[2] III 3, pp. 295–297 (W.G.G. Forrest); Kip 1910, pp. 51–137; Graninger 2011, pp. 13–19. Helly (1995, p. 189) argued that speaking of *perioikoi* before ca. 530 BC, when Aleuas is said to have divided Thessaly into tetrads (for which see below, pp. 42–43), is anachronistic, but Hall (2002, p. 140) countered that there may have been some earlier groups of federated Thessalians who defined themselves against their neighbors, even if the latter were not called *perioikoi.*

132 It was only with the enforced Roman reform under Flamininus in 196 BC that most of the perioikic regions became members of a Thessalian League; Helly 1991, pp. 41–42.

133 For the month of Itonios in Achaia Phthiotis and other places of perioikic Thessaly, see Trümpy 1997, pp. 223–224, 229–231, 293; see also above, pp. 14–16 and footnote 25–36, for the month of *Itonios* in Thessalian calendars in general.

134 See, e.g., Fig. **4**, a silver obol of Perrhaibia from ca. 450–400 BC showing helmeted Athena with spear and shield rushing to the right. See also from Perrhaibia of the fifth c. BC, *SNG Cop.* 3, no. 195, silver coins with types of (Obv.) a galloping horse with trailing reins and (Rev.) Athena running with spear and shield. See also Biesantz 1965, pls. 70–72, for coins

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have brought the worship of Athena Itonia with them to their adopted regions, whether or not the cult was already there. Again, the shared worship of Athena Itonia by Thessalian elites, *penestai*, and *perioikoi* shows the strength of religious cult as a countervailing force against social, political, and geographic differences.

Because Athena Itonia was a major military and political deity in the conquered realm of the *Thessaloi*, her cult would have been further stabilized by the unification of Thessaly, but there is no persuasive argument as to the criteria or chronology of such a union.[135] In the opinion of J.A.O. Larsen, the first *koinon* was born when regional groups of aristocratic Thessalian conquerors and their chiefs at some unknown time in the early centuries of their hegemony formed a feudal and tribal union under an elected federal monarch.[136] Better documented, but still fraught with gaps and uncertainties are the history and chronology of two political developments in Thessaly that are later than the hypothesized early feudal *koinon*, namely a tetrarchic military and political union and the growth of independent power in the *poleis*.[137] In the first of these developments at some undetermined time in the Archaic period a unified council of the nobles or, according to two Aristotelian fragments,[138] a quasi-legendary figure named Aleuas "the Red" reformed the political and military union of the Thessalians on the basis of its four geographical *tetrades*—Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Histiaiotis.[139] According to

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from throughout tetradic and perioikic Thessaly that have types of armed Athena, horses, and horsemen.

135 See Morgan 2003, pp. 206–207, for expression of this uncertainty versus Corvisier's (1991, p. 50) dating in the early Archaic period and Hatzopoulos's (1994) view of the assembly as *the* unifying institution in Thessaly.

136 Larsen (1968, pp. 12–13, 24–26) distinguished this feudal union as the first *koinon* and distinct from the later *tetrarchia* attributed to Aleuas the Red (see below, pp. 42–43 and footnotes 138–140) and the Thessalian confederacies in the fourth and second centuries. Raphael Sealey (1976, p. 18) and others, however, identified the first Thessalian *koinon* as the tetrarchic organization. For the wealth and power of the ruling families of the regional estates, see Larsen 1968, p. 14; see also Pind. *Pyth*. 10; Dem. 23.199; 13.23; Theoc. 16.34–39. For the question of the monarch's title in Thessalian federations, see above and below, pp. 42–43, and footnotes 138–140 on the Thessalian tetrarchy and the *tageia*.

137 On the difficulty of historical sources for Thessaly in the Archaic period, see Morgan 2003, pp. 21, 129–131; Hall 2002, pp. 141–151. See Larsen's (1968, pp. 25–26) summary of the evolution of Thessalian government; cf. Morgan 2003, pp. 8–16 (tribe and ethnicity), 24 (critique of the idea of Thessalian feudalism).

138 Fragments of Aristotle: Rose 1886, F 497 (Harp. s.v. τετραρχία), F 498 (Schol. Eurip. *Rhes*. 307).

139 Whether Aleuas, who is credited with other reforms such as lawgiving, was a historical or legendary figure is not crucial for the present study, but see Helly 1995, pp. 118–124 (and below, Chapter Three, footnote 127) on the distinction of the historical figure from a

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the Aristotelian fragments, the Aleuad system of geographical and political divisions of Thessaly was the basis for the levying of federal troops, probably taxation for federal expenses, and the choosing of members for some form of representative council or assembly.[140] Although direct testimony of the cult

mythical Aleuas. For a more recent bibliography on problems with the Aristotelian fragments and the question of the historicity of Aleuas, see Mili 2015, p. 55 n. 8. Larisean mythical propaganda is suspect in the traditions that Aleuas was the son of Thessalos (Hegemon *FGrH* 110 F 1 [Ael. *NA* 8.11]) or that a Delphic oracle made him king of Thessaly (Plut. *Mor*. 492b). It is plausible that the tetradic reorganization of the Thessalian government was led at least by the Aleuad clan, for its extremely fertile domain and the strategic position of its seat in Larisa on the main route through central Greece gave it extraordinary wealth and power in the aristocracy of Thessaly. On the Aleuads: Helly 1995, pp. 112–124; *RE* I, 1894, cols. 1372–1374, s.v. Aleuadai (J. Toepffer); Axenidis 1947; Stamatopoulou 2007, pp. 309–310; on Larisa: Helly 1984 and 1987; Tziafalias 1994. On the organization of Thessaly and the *tetrades*, see Meyer 1909, pp. 227–249, esp. 227–229; Axenidis 1947, pp. 43–56; Helly 1995, esp. pp. 150–191, 287–315; Davies 1997, p. 31; Beck 1997, pp. 119–134; Corsten 1999, pp. 178–184; Sprawski 1999, pp. 15–25; Morgan 2001a, p. 30; 2003, pp. 21–23; Hall 2002, p. 140. By the fifth century at the latest (see Hellanikos of Mytilene. *FGrH* 4 F 51) the division into *tetrades* was considered one of the oldest features of Thessalian political organization. Bruno Helly (1995, introduction; *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 55 s.v. Aleuadae; p. 1467, s.v. Thessaly) dated the Aleuad reorganization to the second half of sixth century; cf. dates of the seventh to early-sixth century (Larsen 1968, p. 25; Westlake [1935] 1993, p. 25; Sealey 1976, p. 18); Leslie Worley (1994, p. 30) favored a dating at end of the seventh century but added that the reforms may have codified practices that were already as old as a century. A *terminus ante quem* for the unification is 511 BC, when, according to Herodotus (5.63.3–4) the Thessalians, on the basis of an earlier alliance with Athens and *by common agreement* (κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι), sent their supreme commander Kineas and a thousand cavalry to help Hippias the tyrant against a Spartan invasion by sea; see also *Ath. Pol.* 19.5; *CAH*[2] III 3, pp. 298–317 (W.G.G. Forrest). Larsen (1968, p. 19) inferred from Herodotus' account the existence of a Thessalian primary assembly; see also Larsen [1955] 1966, pp. 40–41, 206 n. 39; Morgan 2003, p. 23. For the possible significance of sixth-century Thessalian cavalry for the Itonian cult in Athens, see below, Chapter Three. For the action of federated Thessalian cities in the late-fifth century, see Thuc. 4.78.3–4; Larsen [1955] 1966, pp. 40–41, 206 and n. 39; 1968, pp. 19, 25–26; cf. Sordi 1958, p. 330.

140 In the traditional view, the geographical *tetrades* were given corresponding political *tetrarchies*, divisions that perhaps descended from the conjectured earlier feudal union, and each of the *tetrarchies* had a life-term federal commander (*tetrarchos*) and was sub-divided into allotted estates (*kleroi*). The *tetrades* could unite to elect a military commander-in-chief, a *tagos*, though there were apparently periods when there was no *tagos*; see Gschnitzer 1954, p. 455; Sordi 1958, pp. 65–84; Larsen 1968, pp. 15–18; Ehrenberg [1960] 1964, p. 122; Worley 1994, p. 30; Saal 2010, p. 6; *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 572, s.v. federal states (J.A.O. Larsen and P.J. Rhodes). For differing views about the title and role of a *tagos*, see below, footnote 142. According to Aristotle F 498, each *kleros* was to supply 40 horsemen and 80 hoplites, but C.G. Cobet (Rose 1886, F 498, *app. crit.*) emended the MS's ὁπλίτας to πελταστὰς. Earlier, Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.1.8–9) has Jason of Pherai refer to a traditional Thessalian muster of 6000 cavalrymen and 10,000 hoplites. Scholarly perceptions vary

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of Athena Itonia in these early Thessalian Leagues is lacking, we should refer again to likely correlative evidence in the sanctuary of the goddess at Philia in Thessaliotis, where her cult had at least regional importance as early as the Geometric period and the probability that the federated focus on this sanctuary in the Late Hellenistic period commemorated that early regional importance.[141]

Despite continuing scholarly controversy about the chronology of the early Thessalian federations and the title and tenure of their supreme leader,[142] by

about the form of Thessalian infantry: hoplites (Kip 1910, p. 53; Gschnitzer 1954, p. 455; Larsen 1968, p. 16, Westlake 1969, p. 104; Worley 1994, p. 30); a hybrid form between light-armed and heavy-armed troops (Saal 2010, pp. 8–12, 21–22); no effective infantry at all (Greenhalgh 1973; Snodgrass 1980). The arguments against hoplites are strong: With the noblemen committed primarily to the cavalry, the social structure of Thessaly was incompatible with the raising of a significant force of hoplites from the lower classes (Snodgrass 1980, p. 108). In the same vein, aside from the open plains, where cavalry usually outmatched the hoplite phalanx (see Thuc. 1.111; Diod. Sic. 15.71.4–5; cf. Anderson 1961, p. 129), heavily-armed *penestai* would have been a serious threat to the elite ruling class and in long-range operations they would have deprived Thessalian agriculture of their labor (Saal 2010, pp. 18–19, 21–22). Patrick Saal (2010, p. 17–18 and nn. 79–81) has suggested that Xenophon mistakenly transferred the term "hoplites" from his own earlier Athenian experience. On the necessity in a tribal or federal monarchy of a council or assembly of constituent elders or military representatives, see Larsen 1968, pp. 6, 19.

141 See Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, pp. 119–120, 125, fig. 1, for the chronology of small finds at Philia; see also Intzesiloglou 1988, pp. 256–257; 2006, pp. 229–232. See again Graninger 2011, pp. 2, 64–67, for the possible commemorative importance of the Philia sanctuary in late Hellenistic time.

142 Eduard Meyer (1909, pp. 237–249) and Karl Julius Beloch, *GrG*^{2} (vol. 1. 2, pp. 197–210) were early proponents of the opinion that *tagos* was the regular title of the supreme military and civil leader of the Thessalians, elected for life. Max Cary (*CAH* III, pp. 598–606) and H.D. Westlake ([1935] 1993, pp. 25–26) saw the *tagos* as elected only during a crisis, but Westlake believed that he usually kept tenure for life. Victor Ehrenberg ([1960] 1964, p. 65, 122) thought the *tageia* was a lifelong magistracy but operative only in emergencies. J.A.O. Larsen (1968, pp. 14–19, 24) accepted the title *tagos* for the monarch of Thessalian leagues and understood Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.1.8, 9, 12, 19) to mean that Jason of Pherai, in assuming the title "in accordance with Thessalian custom," advocated a return to the permanent *tageia* of the Archaic monarchy. Larsen (p. 24 and n. 2) noted the exception that the federal monarch was called *archon* following the assassination of Jason (see, e.g., *Syll.*^{3} 184; Tod, *GHI*, no. 147; Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI*, no. 44; see also Larsen 1960a, p. 248). Silvio Ferri (1929, pp. 359–370) argued that the monarch was called not *tagos*, but *tetrarchos* (ruler of four ἀρχαί, i.e., the *tetrades*, rather than commander of a fourth part, i.e., of a single *tetras*). In agreement with the title *archon, archos* or *tetrarchos* for the Thessalian monarch, some scholars (*OCD*^{4} 2012, p. 1467, s.v. Thessaly; p. 1428, s.v. tagos [ταγός] [B. Helly]; Helly 1995, pp. 9, 13–68, 328–353; see also Sprawski 1999, pp. 15–25;) have asserted, *contra* Larsen's interpretation of Xenophon, that no supreme federal commander before Jason was called *tagos*, but that *tagoi* were lesser magistrates in Thessalian *poleis* of the Hellenistic period (Helly 1995, pp. 338–345) or military officials who controlled contingents (*taxeis*) of the military allotments of the *kleroi* (Helly 1995, pp. 35,

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any account such unions would probably have maintained, if not strengthened an already widespread worship of Athena Itonia by further fixing her cult in the local and regional military units and their national collective. Regardless of uncertainty about the chronology of the tetradic constitution and whether it was revolutionary or evolutionary, there is strong circumstantial evidence that it was the basis of the considerable early military power of the Thessalians, and that their famed cavalry, which was probably rooted in earlier horsemanship, became the nucleus of that power under the patronage of Athena Itonia. Thessalian horses are proverbial in Greek literature beginning with the *Iliad*, where the epithet for Trikka in the plain of Histiaiotis in northwestern Thessaly is ἱππόβοτος, "horse-nourishing."[143] The likely antiquity of the Itonian cult in early Thessalian political and military hegemony, the evidence of early and enduring numismatic types of helmeted Athena and horsemen,[144] and Pausanias' assertion that "Athena Itonia" was the perennial battle signal of Thessalian generals, allow some reasonable conjectures about the evolution of the Itonian cult in concert with development of the military horsemanship of Thessaly.

As the invading *Thessaloi* probably adopted the cult of Athena Itonia from the Aiolic people, it is also likely that they, coming from the more mountainous terrain of Epeiros, learned from their hosts advanced horsemanship and the use of the chariot, military skills that may already have been under the

329–337). Though inscriptions (see *IG* IX 2. Index) from a number of Thessalian *poleis* mention a *tagos* who is often one of two or three colleagues with the same title, this is not proof that the title was not given also at times to the federal monarch. A fifth-century Thessalian decree of Thetonion (*IG* IX 2. 257; *Syll.*[3] 55; C.D. Buck 1965, no. 35) has the terms ταγός, ταγᾶ (= ταγία [*tageia*]), and ἀταγία (absence of the *tageia*), but the meaning of these terms is likewise disputed (see Larsen 1968, p. 15; for a recent discussion and bibliography of this dispute, see Mili 2015, pp. 216–217 and nn. 17–20). Where Classical authors (e.g., Pind. *Pyth.* 10.3; Hdt. 5.63.3; Thuc. 1.111.1) use the common term βασιλεύς for the federal Thessalian monarch, they probably did not intend it as an official title. Cf., most recently, Graninger 2011, p. 11 and n. 10, for the idea that a diachronic perspective on the nomenclature of Thessalian leadership may indicate a series of distinct offices (e.g., *basileus, archon, tagos*). In other words, the use of one of these titles at some time does not rule out the use of another at another time.

143 *Il.* 4.202. For the equestrian fame of Thessaly, see also *Anth. Pal.* 14.73; Soph. *El.* 703–706; Eur. *Andr.* 1229; Pl. *Meno* 70a–b; *Leg.* 625d; Ephoros, *FGrH* 70 F 97; Theoc. 18.30. Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* 1.5 shows that the Thessalian horsemen were still a formidable force in the Byzantine armies of the 11th and 12th centuries (I thank D. Lalonde for this comparandum).

144 See above, pp. 16, 30–33 and footnotes 89–103, for types of armed Athena and horses on the coinage of Thessaly.

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patronage of the Itonian goddess.[145] Still, it must have been the *Thessaloi* who gave the horse large-scale military application in their control first of the *tetrades* of Thessaly and eventually other regions of central Greece. The superior force of the Thessalian conquerors and the fertility of the conquered territory eventually combined to great effect, as the regional lords (*basileis*) took advantage of the large-scale grain production, rich pasturage,[146] and terrain of the wide Thessalian plains that were unusually well suited to the raising of horses and to equestrian maneuvers either with chariots or mounted troops.[147] Although the byname Itonia has no etymological association with equestrian matters, either a local goddess of that name or a combined Athena Itonia must have acquired mythic and cultic equestrian attributes like those of Athena elsewhere in Greece, where bynames such as Hippia and Halinitis expressed her *mêtis* and her interest in crafting and controlling the apparatus of military horsemanship.[148] J.K. Anderson has argued persuasively that

145 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1895, vol. 2, p. 114; Stählin 1924, p. 85. Larsen (1968, pp. 14, 21, 106) added that the landed aristocrats retained some *penestai* as horsemen, a relationship that was not without political risk. In the developed cavalry of the Archaic period and later, the wealthy probably provided horses for some lower-class *Thessaloi* and *penestai* whose service would have been required to fill out the federal quota of 6000 mounted troops mentioned in Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.1.89); see Saal 2010, p. 12 and n. 52.

146 On the proverbial fertility and resources of Thessaly, see Westlake [1935] 1993, pp. 1–7; Garnsey, Gallant, and Rathbone 1984, especially pp. 30–35; *CAH*^{2} VI, pp. 558–559 (M.M. Austin); see also Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.56; 6.1.11 for Thessalians as occasional exporters of grain in the fourth c. BC; Sprawski 1999, pp. 52–56; Archibald 2000; Hornblower, *CT* vol. 1, pp. 10–11 (on Thuc. 1.2.3); see Mili 2015, pp. 260–261, especially on the relation of the fertile land to horsemanship.

147 See Cary 1949, pp. 63–64; Snodgrass 1976, p. 84; Saal 2010, p. 5. On the importance of terrain for the use of horses, especially in cavalry, see Hdt. 9.13.3; Greenhalgh 1973, p. 81 and nn. 49–50. Stone, bronze, and terracotta artifacts featuring horses and military horsemen are a common part of the archaeological heritage of Thessaly through the Archaic and Classical periods; see, e.g. Biesantz 1965, pls. 13, 14, 32, 79; for the devotion of Thessalian coin types to horses irrespective of military depiction, see Figs. **19** (silver drachm of Larisa, ca. 370–360 BC) featuring on the obverse the head of the nymph Larisa and on the reverse a grazing horse, and **20** (silver drachm of Larisa. ca. 410 BC), the type of a bridled horse in an incuse square.

148 See Athena's equestrian cults and associated myths in Athens at Kolonos (Paus. 1.30.4) and Acharnai (Paus. 1.31.6), in Corinth (Pind. *Ol.* 13.60–82; Paus. 2.4.1), in Tegea (Paus. 8.47.1), and in Olympia (Paus. 5.15.6); see also Farnell [1896–1909] 1977, vol. 1, pp. 272–273. On fifth- and fourth-century coinage of Thessalian *poleis* or of Panthessalian issue, Athena, helmeted or fully armed, appears opposite various depictions of horses (see above, p. 31 and footnotes 94–95; see also Moustaka 1983, pp. 21–23; Martin 1985, p. 36; Mili 2015, pp. 105, 180, 237 n. 121). As is often the case with Greek cultic attributes, Thessalian horsemanship was not exclusively the purview of Athena Itonia. In a myth that reflects the region's well-watered plains, its suitability for horses, and its agricultural riches, Poseidon

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Homer's scenes of chariots shuttling warriors to and from the battlefield apparently show the typical military horsemanship of the poet's time,[149] and it may well be that this was one of the uses of horses by Dark-Age aristocrats on the open plains of Thessaly. This inference would fit a progressive technology in which at some time early in the Archaic period the Thessalian overlords were the first to make further advances in military horsemanship. Whether or not there was some early prototype of the cavalry, probably somewhat earlier than the Thessalian reorganization into *tetrades* and *kleroi*, equestrian development eventually reached a level of organization and training that produced the first true cavalry.[150] Although the rich agriculture and level terrain of the Thessalian plains were crucial factors in the early development and excellence of this cavalry, the government by local feudal lords must also have been a cause, for Thessaly was foremost in the minds of ancient authors who correlated wealthy, landed aristocrats and oligarchs with horsebreeding and a greater reliance on cavalry than on hoplites.[151] Since, as shown earlier in this chapter,

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Petraios hurled his trident at a great rock in the Tempe mountains, from which sprang the prime horse Skyphios and the river Peneios (*Etym. Magn.* 473.42; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.246b; Mili 2015, pp. 121, 234–235, 237–238; see Fig. **21** (silver hemidrachm, Panthessalian, 5th c. BC) with the obverse type of Skyphios and water springing from the rock crevice and on the reverse an ear of germinating wheat, a symbol of the wealth of Thessalian grain production; for the same images minted by Thessalian *poleis*, see Figs. **16** (bronze drachm of Orthe, ca. 360 BC) and **22** (silver drachm of Scotussa, 450–400 BC). Poseidon had also the bynames Hippios (*Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἵππιος; Hsch. 1.791; Pind. *Isthm.* 1.58) and Hippodromios (Pind. *Isthm.* 1.54), and, with the latter name, was probably honored with the Hippodromia, a festival attested by the month Hippodromios in the calendar of the Thessalian League. For Hippodromios and other horse-related month-names and myths associated with Poseidon, see Trümpy 1997, p. 226 and n. 912; Graninger 2011, p. 104 and nn. 65–66. Perhaps also related to the equestrian interests of the Itonian cult in Thessaly was the legend (Diod. Sic. 4.67.6–7) that Itonos was the grandson of Poseidon and the nymph Arne.

149 See Anderson 1965.

150 For true cavalry, i.e., mounted warriors armed with lances and fighting in formation, see Worley's account (1994, pp. 21–58) of the Archaic period, including attention to the rhomboid formation employed by the Thessalians (p. 31, fig. 3.2). For the origins of Greek cavalry in the Thessalian expansion of the late-seventh or early-sixth century, see Larsen 1968, pp. 14, 20, 106–108. It is only a century later that we have explicit testimony of the superiority of the Thessalian cavalry in Greece: Hdt. 5.63–64 (511 BC); 7.196 (480 BC); see also Isoc. 15.298.

151 E.g., Arist. *Pol.* 1289b, 33–40; 1321a, 5–13; Xen. *Ages.* 9.6; Isoc. 6.55; 16.33–34; Pl. *Meno*, 70a–b. The tactical superiority of cavalry over hoplites on the wide Thessalian plains is illustrated by the failure of Athenian (455 BC; Thuc. 1.111.1) and Boiotian (368 BC; Diod. Sic. 15.71.4–5) invasions, because, as Anderson (1970, p. 58) has noted, the Thessalian horse was able to keep the infantry from scattering and foraging. The breeding, raising, and training of horses was immensely expensive (Saal 2010, pp. 11–12 and n. 51). See Snodgrass 1976, p. 85,

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Athena Itonia was prominent even in prehistoric Thessaly and preeminently a military patron, it is likely that her cult was the focus of worship by foot soldiers as well as equestrian troops. Nevertheless, as military horsemanship was representative largely of the Thessalian ruling class and became the centerpiece of military strategy and tactics at both the local and federal levels, it is a logical inference, and one that is corroborated by the dominant pairing of Athena and horses on coinage types, that devotion to the Itonian cult was most prominent within the cavalry.[152] Attention to the cult of Athena Itonia would have grown with Thessaly's development of a true cavalry, and the consequent reorganization of its political and military *koinon* by *tetrades* and *kleroi* undoubtedly played a major role in the crescendo of Thessalian power that began around the time of the hypothesized First Sacred War in the early-sixth century and was concomitant with Thessaly's conquest of central Greece and its domination during the Archaic and Classical periods of the Amphictyonic League, first at Anthela and then at Delphi.[153] Though there is no certainty about the dating and facts of the war that was fought in the Archaic period between Chalkis and Eretria over the Lelantine Plain in Euboia, Plutarch testifies that Kleomachos of Pharsalos, probably with early cavalry, fought on the side of the victorious Chalkidians.[154] Such a venture would, as Larsen noted,

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on the naming of early Greek aristocratic groups such as the *Hippeis* of Athens, Sparta and Eretria, and the *Hippobotai* of Chalkis. The *–hipp*-root in personal names was also suggestive of elite status; cf. Chapter Three, p. 195 and footnote 113, for Hippias and Hipparchos, the sons of Peisistratos, and the possible relation of their names to alliance with Thessaly and use of its cavalry.

152 See above, p. 31 and footnotes 94–95, for the variety of equestrian images paired with armed Athena.

153 Larsen 1968, pp. 14, 108–112; Lehmann 1983; for a dating of this southern expansion of Thessalian hegemony to the early-sixth century, see Larsen 1960a, pp. 230–231 (*contra* Sordi 1958, p. 77–78: after 514 BC). On the First Sacred War and the controversy of its historicity, see Forrest 1956; Robertson 1978; Davies 1994; Helly 1995, pp. 40–41, 132, 141–142; McInerney 1999, pp. 165–178; Sanchez 2001, pp. 58–80; Hall 2002, pp. 145–146; 2007, pp. 276–281; Morgan 2003, pp. 124–127; Howe 2003; Graninger 2011, p. 121; *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 1305, s.v. Sacred Wars (C.J. Tuplin). On the Amphictyony, see generally Tausend 1992; Harding 1994, pp. 183–185, including attention to Fragment 58 of Androtion (*FGrH* 324); Thessaly and the Amphictyony: Hall 2002, pp. 148–151; Graninger 2011, pp. 48, 117–124.

154 Plut. *Mor.* 760E–761A: ἐπιγαυρωθεὶς ὁ Κλεόμαχος καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν συναγαγὼν περὶ αὑτὸν ἐξήλασε λαμπρῶς καὶ προσέπεσε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥστε συνταράξαι καὶ τρέψασθαι τὸ ἱππικόν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν φυγόντων, ἐνίκησαν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς. On Kleomachos and the Lelantine War, see Helly 1995, pp. 16, 39–40, 136–140; V. Parker 1997, pp. 110–111, 145–147, 159–160. Thucydides (1.15) comments on the novelty of Greek alliances in the war. Larsen (1960, p. 231 and n. 10, with reference to Beloch, *GrG*[2], vol. 1, i, p. 339 n. 1) tentatively dated the Lelantine War in the sixth century and after the supposed First Sacred War. Plutarch's earlier note that Chalkidian infantry was unsuccessful against

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indicate considerable Thessalian power in the implied control of land routes through Epiknemidian Lokris, Phokis and eastern Boiotia.[155] This floruit of Thessalian hegemony in the Archaic period must have heightened the reputation of the cult of Athena Itonia not only with the federation but beyond its borders. Study of the origin of finds from the Itonian sanctuary at Philia shows that all areas of Greece are represented as well as a few places in the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Mideast.[156] As will be seen below in Chapter Two, there is considerable chronological uncertainty about the propagation of the cult of Athena Itonia to Boiotia from Thessaly, but Chapter Three will include argument from significant circumstantial evidence that the Itonian cult came to Athens in the sixth century, during the tyranny of Peisistratos, probably in association with his use of Thessalian cavalry.

Another revolution in Thessalian government in which the history of the cult of Athena Itonia might be assessed first becomes evident around the beginning of the fifth century with the growth of independent political and military power in the *poleis* vis-à-vis the *tetrades*,[157] perhaps a corollary of the increasing rivalry among elite families and the populace of principal cities[158] and increased control by cities of local and regional government, military units, and commerce.[159] Even increase of local power would not, however, have severed traditional ties of the cult of Athena Itonia to the Thessalian tribal state or *ethnos*, nor was representation by *polis* rather than district or tribe necessary for the formation of a federal state.[160] As preeminent as the Itonian cult may

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their mounted opponents and the probability that the Thessalians had no hoplite forces imply that the Thessalians employed cavalry; cf. Greenhalgh 1973, p. 92; Worley 1994, pp. 3, 26–28 (and n. 31), 170.

155 Larsen 1960a, p. 231. Perhaps a result of the influence of Thessalian power and its military cult of Athena Itonia over Epiknemidian Lokris at this time is the fact that the Lokrian city of Thronion is one of the few places outside Thessaly that has left evidence of a month of Itonios; see *FdD* III 4, no. 42, line 2; Samuel 1972, p. 72.

156 Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, pp. 123, 127, fig. 3; see also below, p. 71 and footnotes 260–261.

157 *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 572, s.v. federal states (J.A.O. Larsen and P.J. Rhodes).

158 Larsen 1968, pp. 21–23. This rivalry may have been underway in the sixth century, but evidence is lacking (Stamatopoulou 2007, p. 311 n. 16). Cf. the view of Catherine Morgan (2003, pp. 24, 46, 86) and others (Archibald 2000, p. 213; Stamatopoulou 2007, p. 317) that the Thessalian aristocrats, like those in other Greek *poleis*, operated not against, but within, the civic structure.

159 Exemplary of local power in 477 BC is the Pharsalian Menon's support, without the Thessalian *koinon*, of Kimon and the Athenians at Eion with twelve talents and his own cavalry of 200–300 men (Dem. 13.23). P.A. Greenhalgh (1973, p. 150 and n. 5) takes Demosthenes as referring to the action of Menon I, and not the aid of Menon II to Athens in the Peloponnesian War.

160 See Larsen 1968, pp. 7, 11.

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have been in the feudal and tetrarchic federations of Thessaly, both regional and local worship of its chief martial goddess must have been strong enough that it suffered no major decline when contention among the aristocratic families caused a shift of power from the Panthessalian union and its life-term tetrarchs to individual *poleis* and their less-than-elite populations under the military leadership of short-term polemarchs.[161] Although it is hard to tell how much the power of the old feudal estates blended with that of the cities, to the extent that the early issues of coinage by the Thessalian *poleis* were expressions of independence, the cult of Athena Itonia and her patronage of the cavalry were by then so imbedded in local identity that armed Athena and the horse are thereafter prominent types on the coins of the *poleis*.[162] Nevertheless, the shift of power from a wider spectrum of the *ethnos* to the *poleis* may have been accompanied by local shifts in the devotion to Athena Itonia, for the decrease in this period of votives in the sanctuary at Philia suggests some diminution of attention to the cult, at least in western Thessaly.[163] Although direct testimony of the Itonian cult in early Thessalian Leagues is lacking, we should refer again to likely correlative evidence in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia in Thessaliotis, where her cult had at least regional importance as early as the Geometric period and the probability that the federated focus

161 Larsen 1968, pp. 23–24. Dissension among Thessalian nobles at this time has been seen in the aborted attempt in 480 BC of some Thessalians, probably under the Echekratidai of Pharsalos and in union with Spartan and Athenian forces from the Hellenic League, to make a stand against Xerxes at the Vale of Tempe. The coalition quickly fell apart, most likely when the Greek allies learned of Thessalians still loyal to the Aleuadai of Larisa and their alliance with the Persians (see Sealey 1976, pp. 207–208). Herodotus' account (7.172–174) of this episode does not mention the division of the Thessalians but attributes their medizing to the indefensibility of their territory. The polemarchs are in power at least as early as 457 BC when they are named on the inscribed base of a Thessalian dedication of a horse to Apollo at Delphi in celebration of the Athenian victory over the Boiotians at Oinophyta and the destruction of Tanagra (Daux 1958, pp. 329–334; Robert and Robert 1959, p. 195, no. 189; *SEG* XVII 243). Since this inscription shows the polemarchy to be an eponymous office, its tenure was probably restricted to a year, which would have curbed the power of Thessaly's monarch and strengthened that of its assembly; see Larsen 1960a, p. 243. By 431, and at least as late as 331 BC, the collective Thessalian cavalry was organized by city (Thuc. 2.22.2–3; Xen. *Hell*. 4.3.3–6; 6.4.31; Arr. *Anab*. 3.11.10; Spence 1993, p. 24).

162 See Figs. **14**, **2**, **10**, for such coins of the *poleis* Pharkadon, Trikka, and Pharsalos. According to Westlake ([1935] 1993, pp. 33–34), in the political contentions of the fifth century the Aleuad family exceptionally retained its power in Larisa and became the foremost issuer of coinage, but the aristocratic estates in general frowned on coinage when it was an expression of growing *polis* independence from their feudal power.

163 Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, pp. 119–120, 125, fig. 1.

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on this sanctuary in the Late Hellenistic period commemorated that early regional importance.[164]

Finally, in the many remaining political and military fluctuations of Thessaly in the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, the testimonia to Athena Itonia, absent those of myth, still point to the general perseverance of her cult. Although we do not have reference to Athena Itonia in all the recorded actions of the Thessalian military in these centuries, references to the cult are frequent enough to indicate continuity in the goddess's patronage of the Thessalian armies in both *ethnos* and *poleis*. The assertion of independence by the Thessalian cities in the late Archaic to early Classical periods may have been a revolution that weakened Thessaly as a whole and contributed to the success of the Phokians in their war of independence, but it was in reference to a battle probably in that war that Pausanias noted that Athena Itonia was always the battle sign of the Thessalians.[165] Even the general medizing of the Thessalians during the Persian invasion of 480 BC does not seem to have had a significant or lasting effect on the Thessalian or Hellenic reputation of the Itonian cult. It was probably later in the fifth century that the Thessalians chose the gates of Athena Itonia's sanctuary at an unnamed location as the place to dedicate the bronze cows of Phradmon as a trophy of their defeat of the Illyrians.[166] Athena Itonia was likely the patron of the more than eight thousand horsemen that Jason of Pherai was able to muster after he made himself *tagos* in 376/5 BC.[167] This patronage probably did not change when Jason's tyranny ended by assassination in 370,[168] nor when a treaty with Athens in 361/0 attests that an *archon* is the head of the κοινὸν τῶν Θεσσαλῶν,[169] by then a true *sympoliteia* independent of the old feudal estates, with polemarchs as leaders of the former tetrarchies and a strong central government and federated army.[170] The the traditional durability of the cult of Athena Itonia makes it likely, even in the absence of specific evidence, that this goddess was the chief patron of the Thessalian military, perhaps on both sides, in the instability and civil war of the mid-4th century, which, in turn, led

164 See above, pp. 43–44 and footnote 141.

165 Pausanias 10.1.4–10; also on the war of Thessaly and Phokis, see Hdt. 8.27–29; Hammond 1986, pp. pp. 137–138; McInerney 1999, pp. 155–185; Hall 2002, pp. 142–144; Morgan 2003, pp. 26–27, 144; Helly 1995, pp. 222–223.

166 See above, pp. 27–28 and footnotes 79–80.

167 Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.19.

168 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.31

169 Tod, *GHI*, no. 147; Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI*, no. 44; *Syll.*[3] 184; Larsen 1960a, pp. 240–241 and 248 n. 59; Larsen 1968, p. 24.

170 Ehrenberg [1960] 1964, p. 122; Larsen, 1968, pp. 13, 24, 26.

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to the intervention of Philip II of Macedon, his election as *archon* or *tagos* of the Thessalian League, and the incorporation of the region into his empire.[171] Finally in the late 4th century loyalty to Athena Itonia probably persevered among the Thessalian mounted troops with Alexander the Great in his Asian campaign, and later still (323–322 BC) as opponents of the Macedonians in the Lamian War.[172]

The continuing vitality and reputation of Athena Itonia in Thessaly and wider Greece during the Hellenistic age, a period of successive Thessalian *sympoliteia* and *koinon*, is explicit in epigraphic evidence that her sanctuary and festival at Itonos were involved in international sacred embassies of the time.[173] An inscribed opisthographic stele from Kos (dated between 294 and 288 BC) includes in a fragmentary Koan decree provisions that *theoroi* are to go to Itonos, praise the *ethnos* and *poleis* of the Thessalians, award them a gold crown, and set up, apparently in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, an inscribed notice that the award recognizes the ἀρετή and εὔνοια of the Thessalians.[174] The apparent reason for these honors was that the Thessalians had provided grain to the Koans when their island suffered a famine. From later in the third century another Koan inscription concerns the administration of a *theoria* to Itonos and other parts of Greece to announce the Koan Asklepieia and to invite delegations to their celebration in Kos,[175] a campaign whose success is evident in

171 Larsen 1968, p. 26; Theopompos, *FGrH* 115, F 208; Dem. 9.26; *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 572, s.v. federal states (J.A.O. Larsen and P.J. Rhodes).

172 Philip: Diod. Sic. 16.35.5; Alexander: Diod. Sic. 17.17.4; 17.60.5–8; Arrian, *Anab.* 1.29.4; 3.11.10; 3.15.3; Plut. *Alex.* 24.1; 42.3; Curt. 3.9.8; 3.11.3; 3.11.13–15; Lamian War: Diod. Sic. 18.15.2–4.

173 The Itonos of the Koan and Thessalian inscriptions discussed in this section is tentatively taken as the town with adjacent Itoneion noted by Strabo (9.5.8 [433]; 9.5.14 [435]) as in Achaia Phthiotis; cf. Homer's (*Il.* 2.696) Iton in the same region. The controversy of recent decades, whether Itonos was located in Achaia Phthiotis or near Philia in Thessaliotis or in both regions, is dealt with below (pp. 74–78) in the section on Itonian shrines in Thessaly.

174 *IG* XII 4.1. 133 B, *bd*, lines 126–130: αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ πρέ]σβεις τρεῖς ἐκ πάντων Κώιων, / τοὶ δὲ αἱρεθέντες ἀφικόμενοι ἐπ[ὶ------καὶ κατασκευα]σ̣άμενοι στέφανον ὡς κάλλισ/τον ἀναγγειλάντω ἐν Ἰτώνωι κ̣[αὶ ἀναθέντω-----τὸν] στέφανον ὅπη κα δόξηι Θεσσα/λοῖς ἐπιγράψαντες ‹‹ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Κώ[ιων στεφανοῖ πᾶν τὸ ἔθ]νος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκε / καὶ εὐνοίας›› …; Segré 1934, pp. 169–193; Segré *ED*, 48 (no text), photo *b. c* II, pl. 15; Graninger 2011, pp. 57, 142 n. 105; Habicht 2007, pp. 132–133. Bruno Helly (2004, p. 101 n. 41) and Athanasios Tziafalias in collaboration with Helly (2004–2005, pp. 401–402) note (*contra* Segré 1934, pp. 89–93) that the Thessalians did not have a *koinon* at this time.

175 *IG* XII 4.1. 207, lines 2–6 [------ τοὶ δὲ θεωροὶ τοὶ] αἱρεθέντες ἐς Ἴτωνον / ----------τῶι ἐπαγγελλόντω τὰ / [Ἀσκλαπίεια -------- ἐν] Θεσσαλίαι καὶ ἐν Ἄργει / [--------τοὶ δὲ θεωροὶ τ] οὶ ἐς Σαμοθράικαν ἀποσ/[τελλόμενοι ἐπαγγελλόντω τὰ] Ἀσκλαπίεια ἐγ Χίωι καὶ / … See also *SEG* LIII 849; Herzog 1903, p. 197; Boesch 1908, pp. 28–29; Segré 1934, pp. 176–177 and n. 3; See Bosnakis and Hallof 2003, pp. 233–234 and n. 67, on possible routes of the *theoria*; see Rigsby 2004, especially p. 13, for his tentative reconstruction of the text in accordance

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the Koan epigraphical archive of favorable foreign responses, including those of a number of tetradic and perioikic Thessalian cities.[176]

An early-second-century decree of the Larisaeans honoring Bakchios of Mytilene for fostering friendship and benefaction between the Larisaeans and Mytileneans includes a fragmentary reference to a delegation from Mytilene to the city of Itonos.[177] Athanasios Tziafalias and Bruno Helly proposed that Bakchios was around the time of this decree a member of the Mytilenean mission to Itonos, where he would have taken part in the celebration of the festival of Athena Itonia and announced the Mytilenean festival of Asklepios, and that this man was the Bakchios who proposed a decree of the early-second century, according to which the Mytileneans honored the *poleis* and *koinon* of the Thessalians with praise, prayers, and a gold crown, because Thessalians had sent a *theoria* and victims to the Asklepieia at Mytilene, probably in response to an earlier general announcement and invitation by the Mytileneans.[178]

The reasonable supposition that among the objectives of the Koan and Mytilenean missions to Itonos were the sanctuary of Athena Itonia and a celebration there of the Itonia has raised questions about the status of the sanctuary and festival in relation to the Thessalian people and their guests. It has been suggested that there was no Thessalian League (*koinon*) in the third century and that the honors by the early-third-century Koan *theoria* to Itonos (*IG* XII 4. 1. 133) are therefore directed to the common *ethnos* of the Thessalian people and their individual *poleis*.[179] If this was the case, it is likely

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with his arguments; Gauthier 2005, *BullÉp*, no. 379, pp. 513–514; Dimitrova 2008, p. 251, App. I, no. 1; Graninger 2011, pp. 57, 141. Rigsby (2004, pp. 9–14) argued (*contra* Boesch, Herzog, et al.) that the occasion of this decree was not the first organization of the Koan Asklepieia but consolidation some time in the latter half of the third century of the *theoriai* and the reduction of their expense. Architectural expansion and improvement of the Asklepieion at Kos in the first half of the third century may be evidence of the aggrandizement of an earlier festival (Graninger 2011, pp. 140–141).

176 *IG* XII 4.1. 216–218; Rigsby 1996 pp. 131–134, nos. 19, 21–22; Bosnakis and Hallof 2003, pp. 229–235, no. 15 b (*SEG* LIII 851); Helly 2004, including pp. 89–94, 103–105 (*SEG* LIV 782); Graninger 2011, pp. 140–142. See Mili's (2015, p. 226 and n. 63) reference without citation to a recently published decree of the Thessalians found at Aigai in Anatolia that mentions the Itonion as one of the places of its publication.

177 *Ed. princ*. Tziafalias and Helly 2004–2005, pp. 378–402, no. 1; *SEG* LV 605 (shortly after 196 BC); see line 29: οἵ κε ἐν Ἴτουνον ἐλθόντες, the only extant notice of Itonos in Thessalian epigraphy. See also Graninger 2011, p. 58.

178 Decree of the Mytileneans: *IG* XII Suppl. no. 3; *SEG* LV 910 bis (after 196 BC); Robert 1925, pp. 233–238; Labarre 1996, pp. 273–274, no. 14; Tziafalias and Helly 2004–2005, pp. 392–396 (Labarre's text and translation with some modifications); Graninger 2011, pp. 144–145.

179 See the restoration of *SEG* LV 922, line 6 (*IG* XII 4.1. 133, line 128), by Tziafalias and Helly (2004–2005, pp. 401: [ἀναθέντω ἐς τὸ ἱαρὸν τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς Ἰτωνίας πᾶσι τοῖς Θεσσ] αλοῖς …),

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that on that occasion as well as that of the later Koan mission to announce the Asklepieia (.XII 4, 1. 207) the Thessalian cities were gathered at Itonos as a *sympoliteia* to celebrate their ethnic goddess,[180] but they did not necessarily constitute a representative assembly.[181] Did the gathering of Thessalian *poleis* at Itonos and the obvious focus of the Koan and Mytilenean embassies on this city indicate that the Itonian sanctuary and festival there had Panthessalian or Panhellenic status? In the third century the sanctuary at Itonos, as the gathering place of Thessalian *poleis*, could be considered "Panthessalian" at least in an informal sense, but because Itonos was the destination of *theoriai* from Kos and Mytilene during the Hellenistic period, there is the further question as to whether this sanctuary of Athena Itonia warrants the term "Panhellenic."[182] With the reestablishment of a Thessalian *koinon* in 196 BC in accord with the Roman settlement of Flamininus after the Second Macedonian War, the Thessalian hosts of the Mytileneans at Itonos and the Thessalian *theoroi* who presumably went to the Asklepieia at Mytilene would have been members, if not representatives, of that *koinon*.[183] The mission from Mytilene may have been necessary in part to renew mutual relations after the formation of the new federation.[184] Explicit reference to any Thessalian sanctuary of Athena

indicating that the text refers to the convening at Itonos of the *poleis* and *ethnos* of the Thessalians but not of a *koinon* (*pace* Segré's [1934, p. 176, no. B 2, line 6] restoration: [ἀναθέντω ἐς τὸ ἱαρὸν τᾶς Ἀθάνας τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Θεσσ]αλοῖς ...); see also Larsen 1968, pp. 24–25. Cf. Rigsby's (2004, p. 11) reference to Itonos in the mid-third-century Koan decree (*IG* XII 4.1. 207) as the site of the Thessalian League's federal temple.

180 Concerning *IG* XII 4.1. 207, cf. *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2372, lines 43–44, s.v. Ἴτων (F. Stählin): „... beim Tempel selbst fand eine Festversammlung der Thessaler Statt."

181 Larsen 1960a, p, 244, *contra* Sordi 1958, pp. 329–334. The decrees of acceptance of the Koan Asklepieia from the archive found in the sanctuary on Kos (see above, pp. 52–53 and footnotes 175–176) show that the Thessalians are represented by their individual *poleis*; see Graninger 2011, pp. 141–142.

182 For citation of the extensive itinerary of the Koan mission ca. 242 BC (see above, footnote 175, and below, footnote 188) as evidence that the festival at Itonos was by that time Panhellenic, see Robert 1977, no. 226; Kent Rigsby (2004, pp. 9, 11–12), defining a Panhellenic festival as one that drew *theoroi* from various Greek states, argued that the Itonia were never eminent enough to have this status, that the festival was annual (thus, there was no problem for the Koans in coordinating a penteteric *theoria* with the Itonia) and confined to the Thessalians, and that the presence of the Koans at Itonos indicated simply the good relations between two kindred peoples (see Rigsby, p. 13, for testimonia of the Thessalian origins of the Koans). Susan Sherwin-White (1978, pp. 109–110 with n. 141) considered that another motivation for the Koan interest in Thessaly at this time of Thessalian subservience to Macedonia was the growth of Antigonos Gonatas' power in the eastern Aegean.

183 Graninger 2011, p. 144.

184 Tziafalias and Helly 2004–2005, pp. 400–402; Robert 1925, p. 238 (= Robert *OMS* vol. 1, p. 32).

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Itonia as a κοινὸν ἱερόν is questionable,[185] but it is quite possible that any sanctuary where the federated *poleis* gathered for a common purpose was *de facto* a federal sanctuary, despite the fact that this designation is often limited by scholars to the *temenos* at Philia in Thessaliotis on the basis of inscribed documents of the late Hellenistic *koinon* of the Thessalians found there.[186] As Graninger has noted, the sacred embassies from Kos and Mytilene may indicate that these island states thought of the sanctuary of Athena at Itonos as having a special status, but they do not indicate that the Thessalians themselves ranked the site as their "capital" *temenos*.[187] Among sanctuaries of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, a significance of the one at Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis for the seaborne embassies of Kos and Mytilene may have been simply its proximity to their port of debarkation in the Gulf of Pagasai, the only direct access to Thessaly from the sea.[188] If that was the case, the Thessalians were at least willing to gather there and receive them. The involvement of the Thessalian sanctuaries and the festival of Athena Itonia in theoric exchanges, while not a form of actual cult propagation, was an important example of international

185 Cf. above, in footnote 179, Mario Segré's (1934, p. 176, no. B 2, line 6) unlikely restoration in the early-third-century Koan decree regarding a *theoria* to Itonos (*IG* XII 4. 1. 133).

186 For the evidence of the federal focus on the shrine at Philia, see above, pp. 43–44 and below, pp. 68–69. Rigsby (2004, p. 11) viewed the sanctuary at Itonos as federal at the time of the Koan *theoria* after the middle of the third century. The controversies of the location of Itonos and the chronology of the federal status of the Philia sanctuary will be treated more fully in the following section on Thessalian sanctuaries of Athena Itonia.

187 Graninger 2011, p. 64.

188 See Rigsby 2004, p. 13–14, for his tentative restoration of *IG* XII 4. 1. 207, and his attractive suggestion that Argos (line 4: ἐν Ἄργει) is Pelasgian Argos, an old term for Achaia Phthiotis, and his view of an itinerary for the Koan *theoria* that started from the Gulf of Pagasai, celebrated the Itonia at the sanctuary at Itonos as located by Strabo (9.5.8 [433]; 9.5.14 [435]), and went north through Phthiotis. On the complex question of Pelasgian Argos, see Mili 2015, pp. 194–195 n. 193. As Rigsby noted (2004, p. 11), arrival by sea in the Gulf of Pagasai and a visit first to Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis would assure that the Koans would not be late for the Itonia because of delays in a lengthy overland itinerary. On this point it is probably not coincidental that the decree of Larisa honoring Bakchios was passed in the month of Itonios in the late summer/early fall when the Itonia were celebrated. For the Itonia's being celebrated at the time of the Koan and Mytilenean embassies in Achaia Phthiotis and Larisa around late August to early September (when the month of Itonios there was contemporary with Athenian Metageitnion), a period suitable for travel and timely for the announcement of the Koan Asklepieia, which were celebrated in the spring, see Rigsby 2004, p. 11; Trümpy 1997, pp. 216–217, 231. Bakchios plausibly came north to Larisa in the same month in which he took part in the Itonia at Itonos; cf. Bosnakis and Hallof (2003, pp. 233–234, and *SEG* LIII 850, 851) for a proposed north-to-south itinerary.

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religious networking.[189] The sacred ambassadors of Thessaly, in going abroad to participate in foreign festivals, such as the Asklepieia at Kos and Mytilene, and to announce their own festivals, such as the Itonia, were using cult not just to exercise piety but also to broadcast the political identity of their *poleis* and *ethnos*.[190]

Inscribed decrees and dedications found in or near the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at modern Philia in Thessaliotis show that this *temenos* became a focal point for the publication of business of the Thessalian League after its reformation in 196 BC.[191] The endurance of types of militant Athena on coins during the period of the Roman conquest, the incorporation of Thessaly proper and its perioikic regions into the province of Macedonia in 147 BC,[192] the assignment of part of the region to the senatorial province of Achaia with the Augustan settlement of 27 BC, and the assumption by Roman governers of the generalship of the Thessalian League show that the mutual loyalty of Thessaly and Rome did nothing to diminish the Itonian cult.[193]

To sum up the importance of Athena Itonia in the political and military history of Thessaly, the evidence of archaeology and literature indicates that her cult was apparently well established by the early Iron Age and retained such stability through and beyond the subsequent millennium that it must have contributed a sense of national unity that offset to some degree the political and ethnic difference and occasional conflicts among the Thessalian elites, the various *poleis*, the subordinate *penestai*, the neighboring *perioikoi*, and Greeks and Romans of the Republican and Imperial epochs.

189 *Contra* Mili 2015, p. 230 with n. 86, and p. 252, and despite mythical and historical links of Thessaly and Kos, a Koan *theoria* to Thessalian Itonos and its participation in the Itonian rites probably reflect not a cult of Athena Itonia in Kos, but part of an exchange of *theoriai* involving the Koan cult and festival of Asklepios and those of Thessalian Itonia.

190 See Graninger 2011, pp. 116–117.

191 The importance of the Philia sanctuary to this later League (see Graninger 2011, pp. 64–67) may account for a relative surge in the shrine's votives in the last century BC (see Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, p. 125, fig. 1). On the archaeology of the sanctuary at Philia, including the inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, see below, pp. 66–78 and footnotes 236–283.

192 Although there is insufficient evidence to reconstruct the participation of the *perioikoi* at the federal sanctuary of Athena Itonia in the Late Hellenistic and Roman period or to know of perioikic devotion to the Itonian cult at the local level (Graninger 2011, p. 86), this obscurity does not preclude such activities, especially if early Aiolic worship of Itonia were still rooted in these peripheral regions.

193 For late Thessalian Leagues coins combining types of Roman imperial portraiture and armed Athena, see above, pp. 33 and footnote 101; also *SNG* Berry, pt. 1, no. 560; *SNG* Cop. no. 346; Burrer 1993. For the inclusion of Thessaly in the province of Achaia, see Graninger 2011, p. 40 and n. 137 with reference to G.W. Bowersock's (1965, pp. 283–285) emendation of Strabo 17.3.25 (840).

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4 The Geography and Archaeology of the Thessalian Cult of Athena Itonia

4.1 *Introduction*

Although specific testimony of the Thessalian festival τὰ Ἰτώνια is found only for the city of Krannon, and only in the writing of the Macedonian rhetorician Polyaenus,[194] the epigraphic evidence of a month Ἰτώνιος in the calendars of a number of Thessalian *poleis*[195] suggests that such a festival at some level was celebrated widely with the propagation of the Itonian cult throughout Thessaly.[196] Literary and archaeological evidence supports the corollary inference that Thessaly had a number of sanctuaries of Athena Itonia,[197] even if some of those were shared with Athena of related cults or with other gods.[198] Some references to Itonian sanctuaries in Thessaly give no specific location, and we can only guess about the reasons for this lack of geographical detail. To an ancient Thessalian who read or heard of an inscription or other votive at an Itonian sanctuary the location may have been obvious, and some ancient recorders of these dedications, taking for granted that their audience knew the location, would not anticipate the curiosity of later antiquaries and scholars. Other ancient informants, being far removed in time or space from the events at a particular shrine and dealing with sources that give no location, would simply have passed on the limited information. On this score, there is need for a caveat about inferring from the silence about a location and from the use of the definite article in the expression "τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰτονίας" that there was

194 Polyaenus, *Strat.* 2.34; see above, p. 20 and footnote 49.

195 Above, pp. 14–16 and footnotes 25–31.

196 Nilsson 1906, p. 89.

197 For the opinion that there were multiple sanctuaries of Athena Itonia in tetradic Thessaly and its adjoining perioikic territories, see Theocharis 1964, p. 249 and n. 14; Moustaka 1983, p. 24; Burrer 1993, pp. 49–50. I am not sure how to take the remarks of Mili (2015, p. 225): "Athena Itonia's very identity has been threatened. We should think, it has been argued [with reference to Graninger 2008, p. 343 and 2011, pp. 46–67], not of one Athena Itonia, goddess of all Thessalians, but of several Itonias worshipped in a number of sanctuaries all over Thessaly." Unless Mili was suggesting that there was only one Itoneion in all Thessaly, which is not evident, it sounds like an imputation that Graninger should be understood as thinking like the pious *χωρικός* of today who says, "the Panagia of my village is more powerful than your Panagia." It is very probable that many ancient Greeks thought of their gods in these terms, but this is the thinking of the innocent faithful, not of historians or theologians. Cf. above, pp. 13–14 and footnotes 22–24 on the distinction of cults by *epiklêsis* (byname).

198 As noted above, pp. 15 and footnote 30, a local month of Itonios may not always imply a local Itonian sanctuary or celebration of the Itonia. See above, pp. 23–24, for the affinity of the Itonian cult with those of Athena Polias and Athena Hoplophoros.

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at the time only one Thessalian sanctuary of this goddess. Only in the case of the site excavated by the modern village of Philia near Karditsa in the region of Thessaliotis in south-central Thessaly do we have beyond a reasonable doubt the physical remains of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia, but, as we shall see, even in that case the site cannot be unequivocally identified with any specific shrine mentioned in non-epigraphic literature.[199]

In each of the reliable testimonia of a Thessalian sanctuary of Athena Itonia, we can fairly assume that the site had the history, prestige, location, and facilities to serve the purpose of its patrons, be they dedicants, sacred ambassadors, cult officials, or festival celebrants. But beyond that it may be useful to deal passim with questions of the location and status of particular sanctuaries. In the eventual propagation of the cult in Thessaly from prehistoric time and in other parts of the Greek world at least by the Archaic period,[200] is there evidence that the cult had at any time a sanctuary that had a unique status in the estimation of the Thessalians or other Greeks?[201] Whether or not certain scholars have been right in the hypotheses noted early in this chapter, that the origins of the cult of Athena Itonia lay in the place named Iton or Itonos and therefore that the sanctuary there was for some time preeminent, such a status may have passed from one sanctuary to another with changes of circumstance in the history of the cult.

To focus on sanctuaries of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, we turn to the geographical details of ancient literature and to topographical and archaeological investigations by modern scholars.[202] This treatment is ordered according

199 The most cogent evidence of the sanctuary at Philia as one of Athena Itonia is the restoration of her full name in the inscribed decree of the Thessalian League (ca. 179–165 BC) found at the site: *SEG* XXVI 688, and Habicht 1976, pp. 178–179, lines 20–21: τῆι Ἀθη[νᾶι] / [τῆι Ἰτωνία]ι. In the present account, Itonian sanctuaries that are mentioned or implied only in mythical contexts and cannot be securely identified with a known archaeological site, are left aside; e.g., Callim. *Hymn* 6.74–75, and the implied shrine where the Ormenidai invite Erysichthon to the festival games of Itonian Athena, for which, see above, p. 22 and footnote 56.

200 See below, Chapter Two, p. 91 and footnote 15, that the Itonian cult in Boiotia was well known to writers of the sixth century BC, and Chapter Three, pp. 183–201, for argument of the hypothesis that the Itonian cult was propagated from Thessaly to Athens during the regime of the Peisistratids.

201 See above, pp. 54–56 and footnotes 182–190, for an initial discussion of the question of Panthessalian and Panhellenic sanctuaries of Athena Itonia.

202 For a short chronicle of the topographical and archaeological investigations in Thessaly from the late-19th century to the 70s of the 20th century, see Gallis 1979. The present treatment does not deal with discovered sanctuaries whose modern ascription to Athena Itonia is only tentative; see, e.g., Morgan 2003, p. 141, and the references to a Late Geometric structure at Kamila Marmari (near Neachoraki).

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to the regions and sites where shrines of Athena Itonia have been attested in ancient literature and inscriptions and to some extent in the order in which they were first dealt with in modern scholarship. Literary information about Thessalian sanctuaries of Athena Itonia is sparse, late, and, as will be seen in the important case of Strabo, sometimes confusing.[203] Still, when ancient documentary sources are paired with topographical and archaeological evidence, it is possible to make some reasonable inferences, even if limited and tentative, about the authenticity, location, history and status of these sanctuaries.

4.2 *Achaia Phthiotis*

4.2.1 Itonos

Whether or not the primitive origins of the cult and a sanctuary of Athena Itonia were rooted, as some Byzantine and modern writers have thought, in a place called Iton or Itonos,[204] both toponyms are well attested, and, whether or not these were the names of the same or different places, ancient sources associate both names with the perioikic region of Achaia Phthiotis in the southeast of Thessaly. Homer's "Iton, mother of flocks" has not been specifically located, but the other cities that the "Catalogue of Ships" lists in the realm of Protesilaos—Phylake, Pyrasos, Antron, and Pteleos—show up in the later history of the region of the Krokian Plain (the modern Plain of Almyros, near the Gulf of Pagasai).[205] Epigraphic evidence from the Hellenistic period may

203 Some of Strabo's problems arose certainly, others probably, in textual transmission. Additional difficulties may reflect the Geographer's apologia (1.1. 23 [13–14]) that his work is like a colossal sculpture created with an eye to overall effect rather than small details. Although Strabo traveled extensively, lack of autopsy and his chronological distance from the subject seem at times to underlie some of his difficulties. Still, the degree of inconsistency and contradiction seem more than is inherent even in a long and complicated literary composition and transmission. Daniela Dueck (2000, pp. 23, 28) has proffered that Strabo's reference (9.5.6 [431–432]) to Pharsalian and Melitaian informants may indicate extensive autopsy. If so, the errors and confusion that are not scribal indicate that the Geographer could have been at times a better listener, observer, and judge. See below, Chapter Two, pp. 122–125, on the questions of accuracy and autopsy in Strabo's account of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia in Boiotia. Also on the problems of Strabo's reliability, see Graninger 2011, p. 52 and n. 25. For Strabo's Thessaly in a study focusing on the Peneios River, see Helly 2000. For modern detailed commentary on Strabo, see Radt.

204 Iton (Homer, *Il.* 2.696); Itonos (Strabo 9.5.8 [433[; 9.5.14 [435]). See above, pp. 10–13 and footnotes 6–24.

205 *Il.* 2.695–697. Cf. e.g., Antron: Strabo, 9.5.7 (432); 9.5.14 (435); Phylake: Strabo, 9.5.8 (433); 9.5.14 (435); Pteleos: Strabo, 9.5.8 (433); IG IX 2. 520. lines 3–4; Pyrasos: Strabo, 9.5.14 (435); For proposed sites of these cities, see Stählin 1924, pp. 173–176, 181–182; *PECS*, p. 745, s.v. Pyrasos (modern Nea Anchialos); Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, pp. 132–134; Visser 1997, pp. 661–668. See also Catherine Morgan's (2003, pp. 102–105) summary treatment of Thessalian geography and the *Catalogue of Ships*.

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also point to a town of Itonos with a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in the same region. We have already noted inscriptions of the third and second centuries BC concerning sacred embassies from Kos and Mytilene directed to Itonos, probably on the occasion of the Thessalian celebration of the Itonia.[206] From the same centuries two arbitral decrees, found at Phthiotic Thebes and Delphi respectively,[207] settled disputes of the *poleis* of Thebes and Halos over sacred land, possibly a domain of Athena Itonia located at their common boundary.[208]

206 Above, pp. 52–56 and footnotes 173–190. Bosnakis and Hallof (2003, pp. 233–234) located the Itonos of these inscriptions in Achaia Phthiotis, but see below, pp. 74–78, for continuing controversy about the location of Iton or Itonos.

207 See above, p. 24 and footnotes 64–66 for earlier notice of these arbitral decrees. See Giannopoulos 1932, pp. 19–21, no. 5, for the inscription of the third century BC found at Phthiotic Thebes (modern Nea Anchialos); see also Ager 1997, Appendix, no. 26. The Delphic copy of the other arbitral settlement of Thebes and Halos, dated ca. mid-second century BC is *FdD* III 4, 355; see also *SEG* LVI 557; Ager 1997, no. 153; Mackil 2013, p. 234 and n. 322. For both inscriptions and the question of the disputed sanctuary, see Freitag 2006, especially pp. 227–232.

208 Louis Robert's (1935, pp. 208–209) recognition in the fragmentary inscription from Thebes of a reference to the Haleans (line 8: Ἁλέσι)persuaded him that the dispute concerned Phthiotic Thebes and the neighboring *polis* of Halos, between which was the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Itonos noted by Strabo (9.5.8 [433]; 9.5.14 [435]). In this context, Robert cited the later decree from Delphi (*FdD* III 4, 355) according to which the arbitrator Makon of Larisa settled a dispute of Thebes and Halos over a ἱερὰ χῶρα (line 29) and the administration of its revenues for sacrifices in honor of gods (line 43: σ[υντελεῖν τ]ὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς). Robert demurred to assert that the sacred land in the two arbitrations was the same, but Jean Pouilloux (*FdD* III 4, 355, commentary, pp. 20–21 and n. 5) suggested that the sanctuary of both texts was that of Athena Itonia in Achaia Phthiotis (cf. Freitag 2006, p. 231 and n. 112) and that the arbitral document at Delphi might have been a revision or confirmation of the earlier settlement which, according to the inscription from Phthiotic Thebes, delimited the sacred domain about a century earlier. Jean Bousquet (1977, p. 458) took issue with the idea that the ἱερὰ χῶρα of the Delphic text was the shrine of Athena Itonia at Itonos because that site was not among the four sanctuaries where the decree (lines 46–49) was to be published. Pouilloux also noted (*FdD* III 4, 355, commentary, p. 16) that the date of the Delphic text and its naming (line 24) of the Thessalian strategos assures us that the second arbitration was after the formation of the Thessalian League of 196 BC. Although in the later settlement Thebes and Halos agree to accept the judgment of Makon, the inscription's listing of federal magistrates and its use of the federal calendar suggest involvement of the League, and this would likely be the case if the sacred domain at issue belonged to Athena Itonia as the patron goddess of the federal armies; see Freitag 2006, p. 229; Ager 1997, p. 418 and n. 2. Though N.I. Giannopoulos's candidate for the site of the Itonian sanctuary in Achaia Phthiotis cited by Robert (p. 209 n. 1) is now discredited and, despite much topographical and archaeological investigation, the town of Itonos and its sanctuary have not been discovered, Strabo's testimony (9.5.8 [433]; 9.5.14 [435]) to its existence and location still must be reckoned with, as will be evident as this section of the chapter proceeds.

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This area corresponds quite closely with that of the Itonos and sanctuary of Itonia that Strabo locates by specific reference points and distances. The Geographer first notes that Itonos lies about 60 stades (ca. 11 km) from the city of Halos, which is above the Krokian Plain and the Amphrysos River, while below the plain is Phthiotic Thebes, about 100 stades (ca. 18 km) from Halos.[209] Recognition of the Krokian Plain as the modern Plain of Almyros[210] and the Amphrysos as the Kephalosis River[211] allowed the identification of ancient Halos at the southern end of the plain on the northeast slope of the Othrys range, with its harbor on the Gulf of Pagasai near the modern port of Tsingeli. According to this information Itonos should be about 11 km farther west in the plain (Map 2).[212] A little further on in his account, Strabo writes: "Above this [the Amphrysos River] lies Itonos, where there is the sanctuary of Itonia—whence the one in Boiotia—and the Kouarios River; there is a mention of this and Arne in the treatise on Boiotia. These places belong to Thessaliotis, one of the four division of all Thessaly."[213] Since to this point Strabo's geographical benchmarks have been in the area of Achaia Phthiotis, but the phrase ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Θετταλιώτιδος would normally mean "the preceding places belong to Thessaliotis," this passage has been the source of considerable and lasting controversy.[214] Although mention of the Thessaliote cities of Phyllos and

209 Strabo 9.5.8 (433): ἀπέχει δὲ Ἰτώνου περὶ ἑξήκοντα σταδίους ὁ Ἅλος ἢ ἡ Ἅλος (λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως) ... ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Κροκίου πεδίου, ῥεῖ δὲ ποταμὸς Ἀμφρυσος πρὸς τῷ [τείχει]. ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ Κροκίῳ Θῆβαι εἰσὶν αἱ Φθιώτιδες ... οὕτω καὶ ἡ Ἅλος· διέχει δὲ Θηβῶν περὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους, ... For Halos, see Stählin, 1924, pp. 177–180; H.R. Reinders 1988; Müller, Bildkomm 1, p. 290.

210 Stählin, 1924, pp. 170–171; *RE* XI, 1922, col. 1943, s.v. *Κρόκιον* (F. Stählin); Philippson *GL* 1, pp. 176–181.

211 Amphrysos (Kephalosis): Stählin 1924, p. 179 and n. 3; Reinders 1988, pp. 30, 37, 42 (map).

212 Phthiotic Halos and its seaport: Ancient sources: *Il.* 2.682; Hdt. 7.173; 7.197; Dem. 19.36; Pompon. 2.44; Strabo 9.5.8 (433); *PCG*, III 2, Ar. fr. 54; Modern sources: Stählin 1924, pp. 177–180; *RE* VII, 1912, cols. 2281–2283, s.v. Ἅλος. 1) (F. Stählin); Radt, on Strabo 433.1 (9.5.8). According to Herwig Kramolisch (*Brill's NPAnt*, vol. 5, 2004, cols. 1119–1120, s.v. Halus), Halos did not include the hilltop fortress noted by Stählin, and part of the area of the village of Tsengeli (*sic*) and the ancient harbor were at the time of her writing a military reserve. Müller, *Bildkomm*. 1, pp. 290–292; Reinders and Bottema 1983, p. 94 (excavation report); Reinders 1988; Pariente 1990, p. 773 (excavation report); Lauffer, pp. 256–258, s.v. Halos (H. Kramolisch; F. Hild). Othrys (modern Othris): *RE* XVIII, 1942, cols. 1873–1876, s.v. Othrys, (J. Schmidt); *Brill's NPAnt*, vol. 10, 2007, cols. 296–297, s.v. Othrys (H. Kramolisch). Approximate location of Itonos and the surrounding region: Philippson *GL* 1, pp. 180–211. Müller, *Bildkomm*. 1, pp. 351–352.

213 Strabo 9.5.14 (435): τούτου δ' ὑπέρκειται ὁ Ἴτωνος, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας ἱερόν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, καὶ ὁ Κουάριος ποταμός· εἴρηται δε π[ερὶ τούτου και] τῆς Ἄρνης ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτικοῖς. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Θετταλιώτιδος μιᾶς τῶν τεττάρων μερίδων τῆς συμπάσης Θετταλίας.

214 On the confusing ταῦτα, see *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2372, lines 54–61, s.v. Ἴτων (F. Stählin).

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Kieros follows immediately in Strabo's text, we would expect these to be introduced by such a phrase as τάδε δ' ἐστὶ, and Strabo immediately compounds the problem by returning to discussion of places in Phthiotic Achaia. Furthermore, since in this passage the Geographer apparently cites the Kouarios River and the Itonian sanctuary in Achaia Phthiotis as the namesakes of the sanctuary and river in Boiotian Koroneia,[215] he seems to contradict his earlier observation that it was from Arne in Thessaliotis that the Boiotians brought the cult and the river's name to Koroneia.[216] Because early in modern scholarship such problems in Strabo were the starting point of a growing suspicion and interest about the possibility of an Itonian sanctuary in Thessaliotis, we will return to these textual cruces in our treatment below of the archaeology of the cult of Athena Itonia in that south-central region of Thessaly. Nonetheless, the majority of topographers and archaeologists of the late-19th and early-20th centuries were sufficiently persuaded by the geographical references of Homer and Strabo respectively to Iton and Itonos in the region of Achaia Phthiotis to devote their searches for Itonos and a nearby sanctuary of Athena Itonia in that perioikic region of Thessaly. A brief history of this early scholarship follows.

Colonel William. M. Leake in the account of his travels in northern Greece identified the river Kholó (Kholorema) in the Plain of Armyró (Almyros) as Strabo's Kouarios, some architectural remains near Kephalosi as ancient Halos, and the Ottoman village of Gentzeli as the location of ancient Itonos.[217] A half-century later Nikolaos Georgiades singled out antiquities on a hill above the Kholorema as remains of the ancient city of Itonos and foundations at the nearby site of Μάρμαρα as the sole Itonian sanctuary in Thessaly and the one "between Pherai and Larisa" where, according to Pausanias, Pyrrhos dedicated

215 Radt (Strabo 435 [9.5.14]) placed dashes around the reference to the Boiotian sanctuary (τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας ἱερόν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, καὶ ὁ Κουάριος ποταμός·), apparently to clarify that Strabo intended the sanctuary and the river as coordinate features of Itonos. One wonders, however, if Strabo does not thus have a redundancy of rivers with the Kouarios being above the Amphrysos.

216 Strabo, 9.2.29 (411): Ἑξῆς δὲ Κορώνειαν καταλέγει καὶ Ἁλίαρτον καὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ Γλίσσαντα. ἡ μὲν οὖν Κορώνεια ἐγγὺς τοῦ Ἑλικῶνός ἐστιν ἐφ' ὕψους ἱδρυμένη, κατελάβοντο δ' αὐτὴν ἐπανιόντες ἐκ τῆς Θετταλικῆς Ἄρνης οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά, ὅτε περ καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἔσχον· κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο, ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον. The discussion of Strabo's work in relation to the chronology, circumstances, point of origin in the passage of the Itonian cult from Thessaly to Boiotia will come up below, in Chapter Two, pp. 93–104.

217 Leake [1835] 1967, vol. 4. pp. 356–357. For Leake and others on Gentzeli, see Giannopoulos 1892, p. 477.

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shields of the defeated Gauls.[218] Nikolaos I. Giannopoulos in a more extensive topographical survey the following decade[219] disputed Leake's identification of the Kholorema and saw Strabo's Kouarios River as the modern Xerias, a stream that rises in Othrys and flows north and then eastward through the Plain of Almyros to the Gulf of Pagasai.[220] A few kilometers west of Halos, at Zerelia, Giannopoulos found on the level top of an ancient *magoula* (artificial hillock) fragmentary tiles, bricks, and pottery of the 4th century BC, and in a wider area a number of inscriptions, including some on statue bases that he associated with a sanctuary.[221] Though the hill lacked visible architecture, Giannopoulos concluded that it was sacred by virtue of its prominence and therefore the site of a hypaethral sanctuary of Itonia. The general proposition that a sanctuary need not have a temple is valid, but, since at this time Giannopoulos, like Georgiadou, deemed his *temenos* to be the only sanctuary of Itonia in Thessaly, he might have expected it to include architecture.[222] He conjectured that fragments of ancient architecture built into the church at nearby Karatzadagli (now Kastraki) and others in situ at Tsournati Vrissi, west of Almyros and southwest of Othrys, were remnants of Strabo's ancient town of Itonos (Map 2).[223] Also in the first decade of the 20th century, Friedrich Stählin accepted the hill at Zerelia as the site of the sanctuary of Athena, but

218 Paus. 1.13.2–3; Georgiades ([1880] 1995, pp. 218–220) agreed with Leake's identification of the Kholorema River, as did Michael Chrysochoou (1884) in his mapping of the region. Georgiades's (p. 32) location of Pyrrhos' shrine was based on the interpretation of Pausanias' Larisa as Larisa Kremaste; for this controversy, see below, pp. 81–84; for Pyrrhos' dedication see above, p. 28, footnote 81, and Lévêque 1957, pp. 565–568.

219 Giannopoulos 1892.

220 Giannopoulos 1892, p. 475; cf. *RE* XI, 1922, cols. 2087–2088, s.v. Kuarios (F. Stählin).

221 Inscriptions: Giannopoulos 1890, pp. 242–243, nos. 3–5; 1891, pp. 567–568, nos. 10, 12–13; 1894, pp. 312–313, nos. 4–5; *IG* IX 2. nos. 108, 109, 113–117, 128. Many of the inscriptions were found scattered rather far from Zerelia and, although some texts have subject matter compatible with placement in a sanctuary, others are funerary inscriptions.

222 Many modern sources speak of the Itonian ἱερόν of literature and inscriptions as "temple" rather than "sanctuary," "shrine," "*temenos*," "sacred precinct," or some equivalent term. A ναός (temple) was of course a sacred thing (ἱερόν), but most often, whether there is a temple or not, ἱερόν refers to the *temenos*, i.e., all the space delimited as sacred. Whether or not a sanctuary had a temple, for animal sacrifice it required an altar in open space. The usual purpose of a temple was to house a cult statue.

223 Giannopoulos 1891, p. 567, no. 11; Giannopoulos 1892, pp. 477–478. Otto Kern, in his publication of the inscriptions from Tsournati Vrissi (*IG* IX 2. 103–106), followed Giannopoulos's conjecture that it was the site of Itonos; cf. *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2373, lines 15–20, s.v. Iton (F. Stählin). Giannopoulos's only explicit archaeological evidence of Itonos was a privately owned coin inscribed with the name of the town and said to have been found at Zerelia.

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he and Apostolos Arvanitopoulos believed that the hill also covered the town of Itonos.[224]

Shortly after the work of Giannopoulos and others in this region, Wilhelm Vollgraff discovered late 4th-century sherds and prehistoric strata in a test trench across the *magoula* at Zerelia and remnants of an ancient settlement near Karatzadagli but concluded that these finds were not convincing evidence of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia or the city of Itonos.[225] A thorough excavation of the mound at Zerelia in 1908 by A.J.B. Wace and colleagues confirmed the absence of a sanctuary, but the excavators speculated that a prehistoric level of the mound might have been Homer's Iton, distinguishing it from Strabo's Itonos, which they too associated with the remains in and around Karatzadagli.[226] Later, however, A.J.B. Wace and Maurice Thompson backed away from their conjecture about the town, stating simply, "The site of the classical Itonos must be sought elsewhere."[227]

Stählin rejected the idea of Giannopoulos that Kouarios and Kouralios were variant names for the same river in Achaia Phthiotis as well as the implications of Strabo that there were rivers named Kouarios in both Achaia Phthiotis and Thessaliotis.[228] For the view that the Kouarios belonged only in Thessaliotis, Stählin cited Leake's idea that Poseidon's byname Κουέριος (Aiolic Κουάριος), attested in epigraphic evidence of his cult at Kierion in Thessaliotis,[229] was derived from the name of the nearby Kouarios River, which flows by the sites of Kierion and Arne as the middle stream of five that drain the Plain of Thessaliotis and join as a single stream that empties into the Peneios.[230] Stählin explained that Strabo had confused the Kouarios in Thessaliotis with the Kouralios River (the modern Xerias) in Achaia Phthiotis,[231] the latter having the same name as a month Kouralios attested beside that of Itonios in the calendars of the

224 Stählin 1906, p. 16; see reference to Arvanitopoulos in *BCH* 48, 1924, "Chronique des fouilles," p. 483.

225 Vollgraff 1907–1908, pp. 224–225.

226 Wace, Droop, and Thompson 1907–1908, pp. 197–199. Stählin (1924, p. 175) also distinguished Itonos from Homer's Iton, assigning the "Mother of Flocks" to an unknown place in the pastures of the Othrys range.

227 Wace and Thompson 1912, p. 150; see also *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2371, s.v. Ἴτων (F. Stählin).

228 Giannopoulos 1892, p. 478; *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2373, s.v. Iton (F. Stählin); *RE* XI, 1922, cols. 2087–2088, s.v. Kuarios (F. Stählin); here (col. 2087, lines 57–59) Stählin explicitly corrected his earlier (1906, p. 16) acceptance of Strabo's statement that the river by the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis was the Kouarios.

229 *IG* IX 2. 265, line 1.

230 Leake [1835] 1967, vol. 4, p. 499; *RE* XI, 1922, cols. 2087, lines 60–68; 2088, lines 1–17. s.v. Kuarios (F. Stählin).

231 *RE* XI, 1922, col. 2087, lines 42–49 57–59, s.v. Kuarios (F. Stählin).

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Phthiotic Achaian cities of Pyrasos and Kophoi,[232] a name that Lewis R. Farnell had tentatively derived from κούρη / κόρη with reference to Athena Itonia.[233] Although, as will be seen later, there are claims, both ancient and modern, of a Kouralios river elsewhere in Thessaly and in Boiotia, no ancient source names such a river in the region of Achaia Phthiotis.[234]

Despite the geographical clues of Homer and Strabo, every modern topographical and archaeological investigation to date in the region of Achaia Phthiotis has failed to find a convincing site of Itonos or a sanctuary of Athena Itonia. Identification of the sanctuary would require some clear evidence of the goddess, but not once has the name of Athena Itonia been found inscribed on any of the archaeological material discovered in the region. Despite the failure of that quest, these investigations added significantly to knowledge of the ancient history of the region. Still, it cannot be inferred that Homer's Iton or Strabo's Itonos with its adjacent Itonian *temenos* did not exist. Moreover, since the early 20th century there has been no widespread archaeological campaigning in Achaia Phthiotis and, considering the extent of the territory, there is still potential for further discoveries.[235] There also remains much controversy over

232 *IG* IX 2. 133, line 7; 102*b*, line 3.

233 Farnell ([1896–1909] 1977, vol. 1, p, 265) suggested that the Koralios River that Alkaios placed near Koroneia in Boiotia (see Strabo 9.2.29 [411]) might be understood as the "brook of the maiden [*korê*]" from the nearby shrine of Athena Itonia; see also *RE* XI, 1922, col. 2087, lines 27–42. s.v. Kuarios (F. Stählin) with the citation of Hsch. s.v. Κωράλιον; the river Kouralios: *RE* XI, 1922, col. 2201, s.v. Kuralios (1) (E. Pieske); the month Kouralios: *RE* XI, 1922, col. 2201, s.v. Kuralios (3) (E. Bischoff); see Nilsson's (1906, p. 91) offer of the parallel of Athena as *Korê* in a cult at Kleitor in Arkadia. Cf. Giannopoulos's suggestion (1892, p. 478) that the month Kouralios was named in honor of a river Kouralios (a river god?), just as the month Itonios honored Athena Itonia.

234 See below, pp. 78–81, and footnotes 284–300, where the Kouarios / Kouralios confusion comes up again in Strabo's reference (9.5.17 [438]) to a sanctuary in Histiaiotis. There we will deal with Helly's (2000, pp. 35–37) alternative etymology of Κωράλιος/Κουράλιος in κωράλλιον or κωράλιον: *coral*, and the proposition that there was no river Kouarios, but that Koralios / Kouralios was the name of the rivers beside three sanctuaries of Athena Itonia. Strabo's reference to a Thessalian city of Koroneia, between Narthakion and Meliteia in the *tetras* of Phthiotis, has further complicated the questions of an Itonian sanctuary of Achaia Phthiotis as the source of the propagation of the cult to Boiotian Koroneia, for which see below, Chapter Two, p. 103.

235 See Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 226. Surface remains around the mound at Zerelia were surveyed again by the Netherlands Institute at Athens (Reinders 2004, pp. 22–24) in cooperation with the 13th Hellenic Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. In 2005 the University of Thessaly's Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology conducted excavations at the Magoula Zerelia (http://extras.ha.uth.gr/zerelia/en). These studies also elucidated the area's prehistory but produced no new evidence of Itonos or an Itonian sanctuary.

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the meaning of Strabo's passages and their related issues. The following sections of this chapter, on the geography and archaeology of the Itonian cult in the *tetrades* of Thessaliotis and Histiaiotis respectively, will necessarily include returning to the question of the location and status of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Iton or Itonos.

4.3 *Thessaliotis*

4.3.1 Modern Philia

A discussion of the archaeology of the cult of Athena Itonia in the *tetras* of Thessaliotis best begins with a return to the textual difficulty of Strabo noted earlier,[236] that is, the Geographer's confusing phrase ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Θετταλιώτιδος ("These places are of Thessaliotis") following his siting of Itonos, an Itonian shrine, and the Kouarios River clearly with reference points in the region of Achaia Phthiotis,[237] and the apparent contradiction of that passage with his earlier observation that it was from Arne in Thessaliotis that the Boiotians came to Koroneia and named the Itonian shrine and the adjacent Kouarios River after their counterparts in Thessaly.[238] These textual ambiguities alone were enough to persuade the early-19th-century scholars Karl O. Müller and William M. Leake of the possibility that there was a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in the area of Kierion and Arne in Thessaliotis in addition to the one in Achaia Phthiotis.[239] As noted above, however, in the late-19th and very early-20th centuries the quest for a sanctuary of Athena Itonia largely followed Strabo's attention to the Krokian Plain of southeast Thessaly and was driven in some part by the idea that the Geographer's Itonian shrine near Itonos was the only one in Thessaly. But a little later in the 20th century, with the failure to find viable candidates for that town and shrine, a renewed interest in the confusions of Strabo's account, the gradual accumulation of scattered archaeological evidence from Thessaliotis, and the early opinion of Müller and Leake aroused new scholarly interest in the possibility of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in the southwest of Thessaly. Giannopoulos, an early advocate of a sole Thessalian sanctuary of Athena Itonia on the *magoula* at Zerelia in Achaia Phthiotis, published in the 1920s the bronze statuette of a running hoplite and some Late Hellenistic inscriptions of the Thessalian League from in and around the modern Thessaliote village of Philia beside the Sophaditikos River, a few kilometers south-southwest of the supposed sites of ancient

236 Above, pp. 61–62.
237 Strabo, 9.5.14 (435); text above, footnote 213.
238 Strabo, 9.2.29 (411); text above, footnote 216.
239 Müller, *Dorier*[2] II, pp. 521–522, 525–526; Leake [1835] 1967, vol. 4, pp. 499–500, 501 and n. 1.

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Kierion and Arne. Giannopoulos came to believe that the Sophaditikos was not the ancient Onochonos, as some earlier topographers had believed, but Strabo's Kouarios,[240] and he asserted prophetically that if there was another temple of Itonian Athena distinct from those near Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis and near Koroneia in Boiotia, then that shrine should be sought in or near the village of Philia.[241] It is also noteworthy that Philia is not far from the sites identified as ancient Arne, from which the *Boiotoi*, according to the first tradition relayed by Strabo, fled to found the Itonian sanctuary at Koroneia in Boiotia,[242] and Kierion, which had a month of Itonios and issued fifth-century coins with the types of helmeted Athena and a horse protome.[243] The finds from around Philia also convinced Stählin of a shrine of Athena Itonia in the area, and he tentatively located it at a source of surface finds on the right bank

240 Giannopoulos 1927–1928a, p. 127. For the early notion of the modern Sophaditikos or Sophaditis (hereafter, Sophaditikos) as the ancient Onochonos, and therefore the adoption of the latter name for the modern river, see, e.g., Shepherd 1911, map, pp. 10–11, D-c. Stählin (1924, pp. 82, 131 with n. 10) identified the ancient Onochonos, which according to Herodotus (7.129; 7.196) flowed into the Vale of Tempe and was drunk dry by Xerxes' army, with the modern Karumbalis. Apparently this is the same Onochonos that Stählin elsewhere (*RE* XI, 1922, col. 2088, lines 1–7, s.v. Kuarios) described as a stream that collected the water of five rivers, including the Kouarios before entering the Peneios. See How and Wells [1912] 1980, commentary on Hdt. 7.129, for the "obscure" Onochonos. Helly (1991, p. 43, map) identified the Onochonos as the river that rises near ancient Metropolis in Histiaiotis and, near ancient Limnaion, joins the stream fed by several rivers that shortly flows into the Peneios.

241 See Giannopoulos 1925–1926, pp. 187–189, for the bronze "running hoplite," later identified from its winged feet as the hero Perseus (Biesantz 1965, p. 35, no. 110, pl. 63). See Giannopoulos 1927–1928a, pp. 119–127; 1927–1928b, pp. 203–205, for the inscriptions: A decree of the Thessalian League (immured in the church at Philia); a text honoring Thessalian appointees who arbitrated a boundary dispute of Melitaia and Lamia (see also McDevitt 1970, p. 91, no. 670); inscribed bases of statues dedicated by the League. In the same publication Giannopoulos reported the finding near Philia of remains of a Neolithic settlement and of a Roman building with a mosaic floor. Giannopoulos (1927–1928a, p. 127) did not give a specific location in or near Philia for the suspected sanctuary of Athena Itonia but added providently that it was necessary to investigate the area by archaeological excavation; cf. Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 227, where the precision of Giannopoulos' prescience seems slightly overstated: Γιαννόπουλος ... με αρκετή επιφύλαξη προτείνει την ταύτιση του αρχαιολογικού χώρου της Φιλίας με το ιερό της Ιτωνίας Αθηνάς.

242 Strabo, 9.2.29 (411). For Philia and Arne, see Morgan 1997, pp. 171, 173, 194, and n. 31.

243 For Philia and Kierion, see Helly 1991, p. 36; Leekley and Efstratiou 1980, p. 151. Month Itonios in Kierion: *IG* IX 2. 259, line 5. Cf: e.g., Moustaka 1983, pp. 27, 104, pl. 3, no. 40: Kierion; first half of fifth c. BC). For Kierion, Arne, and the subject of the Boiotian migration, see Strabo, 9.2.3, [401] 9.2.29 [411]; 9.5.14 [435]) and above, pp. 35, 37–38, 67 and footnotes 109, 117, 242–243, and below, Chapter Two, pp. 88–104. Cf. above, p. 36 and footnote 111, for an opinion that Kierion and Arne were the same place.

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of the Sophaditikos River north of Philia.[244] A second effect of this body of evidence and scholarship was that Strabo's version of the Boiotian propagation of the Itonian cult from Arne in Thessaliotis gained some ascendancy over his other testimony that an Itonian sanctuary and Kouarios River at Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis were the namesakes and prototypes of the sanctuary and river near Koroneia in Boiotia.[245]

After the studies of Giannopoulos and Stählin in the 1920s, the issue of a Thessaliote sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Philia lay fairly dormant for about three decades, but it gained dramatic new life in the early 1960s when plows turned up ancient building stone and loose finds at Stählin's suggested site at Χαμάμια on the right bank of the Sophaditikos River just north of the village, and local people began unofficial collecting and marketing of artifacts dating from the prehistoric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.[246] In 1962 the Greek Archaeological Service fortunately took control of the site under the direction of Demetrios Theocharis, who, after a topographical survey and a series of test trenches, carried out excavations between 1963 and 1967, uncovering a large part of a sanctuary, including walls that dated from the 4th century BC to Roman times as well as pottery and small votives from as early as the Mycenaean period.[247] Epigraphical finds from the excavation and the environs of Philia show the importance of this sanctuary as a focus of inter-*polis* business, especially from the time of the renewal of the Thessalian League in 196 BC until well into the Roman Imperial period.[248] Most

244 *RE* VI, 1936, col. 98, lines 10–18, s.v. Thessalia (Landeskunde) (F. Stählin); for his early survey of the area of Thessaliotis, see Stählin's 1924, pp. 82, 130–135.

245 See below Chapter Two, pp. 88–104, for the discussion of the Thessalian source of the Itonian cult in Boiotian Koroneia.

246 *RE* VI, 1936, col. 98, lines 10–18, s.v. Thessalia (Landeskunde) (F. Stählin); Stählin 1924, pp. 82, 131. On the initial depredation of the site, see Theocharis 1963, pp. 135–137; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 3; Schmid 2006, pp. 239–240 and n. 4

247 Theocharis 1963, Chron. pp. 135–139; 1964, Chron. pp. 244–249; 1965, Chron. pp. 311–313; 1967, Chron. pp. 295–296; Daux 1967, pp. 703–708 and figs. 7–12; Lauffer, s.v. Philia, (H. Kramolisch). For a more recent summary of the excavations, see Intzesiloglou 2006, 227–229; also Graninger 2011, pp. 58–67; the small finds were published by Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002).

248 Indicative of the importance of this cult sanctuary even before 196 BC is its yield of a late-third-century decree of *sympoliteia* between the cities of Gomphoi and Thamiai (Ithome) (*SEG* XXXVII 494; Helly 1971 [on the name Thamiai] with *SEG* XLIII 290, republished in Helly 1993, pp. 107–200). After 196 BC, see, e.g., a late-second-century arbitral decree concerning a boundary dispute between Melitaia and Lamia (McDevitt 1970, p. 91, no. 670A; Freitag 2006, p. 230); settlement of a dispute of Melitaia and Narthakion by judges from Asia Minor apparently invited by the League of the Thessalians (Ager 1997, no. 154, II; Freitag 2006, p. 231 n. 111); League decree of the mid-second century from Larisa (*SEG*

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significant of the Hellenistic inscriptions found at the site is a fragmentary decree (ca. 179–165 BC) of the Thessalian League that connects this sanctuary with near certainty to Athena Itonia. The document prescribes that the *koinon* is to invite Ambrakian ambassadors to the sacrifice to Athena—Itonia, according to the likely restoration of the byname—and the other gods, and that the decree be published on stone in Athena's sanctuary.[249]

Theocharis speculated from the lack of pre-Classical architecture in the area of his excavation that the early sanctuary might have been simply a grove with altars near the river, adding that Kallimachos' verse about the sacred grove and altar of Athena Itonia at Boiotian Koroneia was a fitting description of the site at Philia.[250] He conjectured alternatively that a Mycenaean wall at the lower course of the excavation and Late Helladic female idols of the Ψ and Φ shapes might represent a very early phase of the sanctuary and that architecture from the following several centuries may have been destroyed by flooding from the adjacent river.[251] Because action of the river and illicit excavations had disrupted much of the stratigraphy of the site, Theocharis concluded that the earliest dating of the sanctuary and its dedication to Athena

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XXXIV 558; Gallis 1976, pp. 176–178) honoring the Larisaean brothers and former generals of the League, Timasitheos and Diotimos, with equestrian statues in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, probably that at Philia; fragment of a second-century decree, probably of the *koinon* or a *polis* of the Thessalians (Theocharis 1963, pp. 137–138, β; *SEG* XXV 652); inscribed statue base (Theocharis 1967, p. 296 pl. 195a: Τὸ κοινὸν Θεσ[σαλῶν—] / υἱὸν); statue base of the Roman Imperial period honoring an emperor (name lost) (Theocharis 1963, p. 137, α; *SEG* XXV 654); decrees of the Thessalian League from the mid-second c. AD honoring M. Ulpius Eubiotos (*SEG* XXXVII 492) and M. Ulpius Domitius (*SEG* XXXVII 493; Freitag 2006, p. 230 n. 109). As well as indicating the importance of the sanctuary, inscribed stelai there assured a wide and continuing audience for the published texts and, as dedicated property of the resident deity, they were proof against the violation of either the physical inscriptions or their prescribed business; cf. Freitag 2006, pp. 231–232, on the publication of the Thebes-Halos arbitration.

249 From the text of Habicht 1976, p. 179 (cf. *SEG* XXVI 688; *BullÈp* 1978, no. 250, pp. 426–427) lines 18–24:

[τῶι κ]οινῶι καὶ ἐν ἑκάστηι πόλει, καὶ τὸν στρατη-
[γὸν ξε]νιά τε πέμψαι αὐτοῖς καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ
[τὴν θυ]σίαν τὴν συντελομένην τῆ Ἀθη[ναίαι]
[τῆι Ἰτωνία]ι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς· τόν δε τα-
[μίαν ἀναγρά]ψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς κίονα λιθί-
[νην καὶ ἀναθεῖ]ναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθη-
[ναίας]. vacat

See also Habicht 2006; cf. the *ed. princ.* of Theocharis (1964, pp. 247–248 [*SEG* XXV 653]).

250 Callim. *Hymns* 5.63–64: ἢ 'πὶ Κορωνείας, ἵνα οἱ τεθυωμένον ἄλσος / καὶ βωμοὶ ποταμῷ κεῖντ' ἐπὶ Κουραλίῳ.

251 Theocharis 1964, p. 246 and pl. 290 d (idols); 1969, p. 295 and pl. 193 (Mycenaean wall).

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Itonia remained uncertain. Architecture of the Classical and early Hellenistic periods is represented respectively by a painted sima with a tentative date of ca. 425–375, a Doric stoa or temple of ca. 300–275 BC, and a mosaic floor and a number of coins date from the Roman era.[252] Citing Pausanias on "Athena Itonia" as the *synthema* of the Thessalians,[253] Theocharis concluded that the Philia sanctuary was the Panthessalian seat of the protectress of the *ethnos* long before the Persian War and at least as early as the time of the first *koinon* of the Thessalians.[254] He theorized that the Boiotians at Arne adopted the worship of Athena Itonia from the indigenous Aiolians, but, deviating slightly from Strabo,[255] he judged that it was from this sanctuary at Philia, not Arne, that the Boiotians brought the cult southward to Koroneia.[256]

In a revival of work at Philia in 1980, Angeliki Pilali-Papasteriou and Aikaterini Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou discovered a parallelogram-shaped building connected to Theocharis's Mycenaean wall, as well as jewelry and other feminine paraphernalia. The new Mycenaean finds included nothing that answered Theocharis's quandary about a Late Helladic phase of the sanctuary.[257] In 1988 Babis Intzesiloglou extended the excavation at Philia beyond that of Theocharis, finding sections of a possible peribolos wall of Roman date and

252 Sima: Theocharis 1964, p. 246; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 228. Temple or stoa: Theocharis 1964, p. 137. Roman mosaic floor: Papazafiri 1966; Intzesiloglou 1988. For the Roman coins, see Karamesini-Oikonomidou 1966, p. 254 and pl. 299.

253 Paus. 10.1.10.

254 Theocharis (1964, pp. 248–249) puts this status as early as the eighth century; see also Parker 1998, pp. 18–19; cf. below, p. 73 and footnotes 266–267, for the suggestion of Graninger (2011, pp. 62–64) that the site at Philia may have been only a regional sanctuary before 196 BC.

255 Strabo, 9.2.29 (411).

256 Theocharis 1964, p. 249. It must be emphasized that while it is possible that the Itonian cult came to Koroneia with the Boiotian southward migrations, it is also possible that Strabo or his sources created this tradition of propagation by conflating knowledge of the cult's prominence in Thessaliotis with Thucydides' testimony of the expulsion of Boiotians from Arne (see below, Chapter Two, pp. 88–104, on questions of historicity and chronology in the propagation of the Itonian cult to Boiotia). That said, since the sites of Philia and Arne are not far apart and both have associations with the cult of Athena Itonia, there may be no real contradiction between the ancient tradition that the Boiotians left from Arne and the opinion of Theocharis that they came from Philia. Since no ancient city is known at Philia, it may well be that the sanctuary there served the surrounding region (cf. below, p. 73 and footnote 266, for Helly's hypothesis of this sanctuary as a sacred zone that served a regional *koinon* of surrounding cities). This does not gainsay that Arne had its own shrine of Athena Itonia, even though its site, as usually identified at Makria Magoula, has yielded no archaeological evidence of the cult.

257 Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou 1983, pp. 49–68; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 229; Morgan 2003, p. 249 n. 4.

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evidence that the *temenos* has areas yet unexcavated. This campaign produced more votives from the Geometric and Archaic periods and yielded remnants of a temple and a stoa from the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Intzesiloglou offered the attractive hypothesis that the sanctuary's many long strata of thick ash, containing potsherds and metal votives but no animal bones, are not the remnants of sacrifice, but of trees and wooden structures to which votives were attached and which were destroyed in a conflagration of the *temenos* in the sixth century BC.[258] The many small finds, votives and utilitarian objects, from Philia show that devotion and activity around this sanctuary were by no means limited to large political entities and special occasions such as the sacrifice to which the *koinon* of the Thessalians invited the Ambrakian ambassadors, but that the sanctuary had a long history of use by lesser devotees such as *poleis*, associations of various sorts, gentilitial groups, families, and individuals. Kilian-Dirlmeier's chronological analysis of the small finds showed that its cult began at least as early as the Middle Geometric period, flourished in the Archaic period, reaching its zenith ca. 750–575 BC, and then was quite stable into the Roman Imperial age except for a resurgence during the first century BC.[259] Artifacts from the site were traced less to the local area than to wider Thessaly, Euboia, the north Balkans, and Macedonia.[260] While most bronze artifacts may have been manufactured and offered by Thessalians, there were signs of itinerant craftsmen at the site and offerings from throughout Greece and even from the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Mideast.[261]

The great early production of votives at Philia and the fact that there was no major ancient *polis* near the sanctuary convinced Theocharis that even as early as the first Thessalian *koinon* the goddess's Panthessalian sanctuary, meaning that of the Thessalians within their *tetrades*, could be none other than the one

258 Intzesiloglou 1988, pp. 256–257; 2006, pp. 229–232; cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, pp. 231 and 250; see also Graninger 2011, pp. 59–60 and n. 60. Intzesiloglou had also suggested earlier (1985, p. 197) that inscriptions found immured in the Church of the Taxiarchs at Melissochori near Philia had come from the Itonian sanctuary.

259 Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, pp. 177, 190; 2005, p. 120.

260 Kilian 1983; Freitag 2006, p. 230 and n. 107.

261 Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, p. 123. See Karamesini-Oikonomidou 1966, p. 254, for two coins found at Philia that were minted in Halikarnassos and Carthage. See Schmid 2006, for the publication of two rare bronze objects apparently from unofficial digging at Philia, one (dated 11th–10th c. BC) originating from the region of Luristan, in modern Iran, and the other (dated to the Middle Bronze age) from Anatolia or Mesopotamia. Schmid inferred from these objects that the shrine in central Greece had international contacts and exchanges of extraordinary reach, and that, although these objects may have reached Philia through intermediate stages of indeterminate chronology, they may hint at very early phases of the sanctuary.

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of his excavation.[262] He conceded that there were probably other Itonian sanctuaries in Thessaly, including that noted by Strabo at Itonos in the Krokian Plain, but he argued against a superior role for that sanctuary on two grounds: First, there has been no discovery of archaeological evidence of Itonos or its shrine to match the discoveries at Philia; secondly, it would be illogical to locate in Phthiotic Achaia, a territory of subject *perioikoi*, the principal sanctuary of the protectress of the confederated Thessalians and the source of the important Panboiotian cult center at Koroneia.[263] Nevertheless, if the city of Iton or Itonos was in Achaia Phthiotis, the cognate relationship of the city's name with the goddess's byname as noted even by Theocharis, the proverbial antiquity of Iton, and even the late evidence of a month of Itonos in this perioikic region may still lend weight to the hypothesis that the cult had an early history with the indigenous Aiolic people at Iton or Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis before the invasion of the *Thessaloi*.[264] Furthermore, the fairly recent discovery of an extraordinary sanctuary at Philia should make the point that there may be other Itonian sanctuaries yet to be discovered within Thessaly proper.[265] None of this, of course, would preclude a Thessalian *ethnos* or League from focusing attention at some later time on a sanctuary of its own choosing, as was apparently the case at least by Late Hellenistic times with the sanctuary at Philia. In the early archaeology of the sanctuary, however, there is no compelling

262 See Theocharis 1964, pp. 248–249; Kilian-Dirlmeier (2005, p. 119) concurred that "das zentrale, der Göttin Athena Itonia geweihte Stammesheiligtum der Thessaler" was that found at Philia; Intzesiloglou (2006, p. 230) agreed, with no chronological qualifications, that this was the Thessalian federal sanctuary of epigraphical and philological references.

263 Theocharis 1964, p. 249, nn. 14–15; Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002, p. 1) also thought peculiar (*merkwürdige*) Stählin's opinion of a federal sanctuary in perioikic Achaia Phthiotis. See, however, Graninger 2011, pp. 56–57 and n. 46, for the conjecture that a major Thessalian sanctuary in perioikic territory might reflect not only the supremacy of tetradic Thessaly, especially Pharsalos, over Phthiotic Achaia but also a possible hybrid status of the sanctuary at Itonos as being sacred to the Thessalians but located in perioikic territory. Graninger added that if Rigsby's (2004, pp. 13–14) suggestion that the destination Argos in the Koan *theoria* of ca. 242 BC (*IG* XII 4. 1. 207; *SEG* LIII 849, line 4) was Homer's Pelasgian site (*Il.* 2. 680–685) in Phthiotic Achaia, this may further reflect the shrine's hybrid status. Graninger (*ibidem*) suggested alternatively a reconsideration of the boundaries of Achaia and their relationship to an unlocated Itonos.

264 See Moustaka 1983, p. 24 and n. 79 on such rejoinders to Theocharis. See also Trümpy 1997, p. 293, and above, footnote 27, for the month of Itonios in the sacred calendars of Lamia, Kophoi, Melitaia, Pyrasos, Thaumakoi, and Thebes. Theocharis's own opinion (1964, p. 249 n. 13), that the *Boiotoi* and the *Thessaloi* adopted Itonia from the pre-Thessalian Aiolic peoples near Arne, suggests the possibility that Aiolic *perioikoi* were devotees of the goddess before the Thessalian conquest rendered them outliers of lesser status.

265 Moustaka 1983, p. 24.

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evidence, like that of inscriptions after 196 BC, that the site was the chief and common cult center of the whole Thessalian *ethnos*. As *ex silentio* arguments go, this is a fairly strong one. Bruno Helly has suggested on the basis of his hypothetical construction of the geographical spheres around ancient settlements in Thessaliotis and the analysis of early regional coinage inscribed with variously spelled abbreviations of the name ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΙ, that in the Archaic and Classical periods the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia was the center of its own sacred zone (*hiera chôra*) that served a regional *koinon* of surrounding cities but was not under the superior influence of any of them.[266] This hypothesis would be consistent with the apparent absence of an ancient *polis* at Philia itself, and it would be compatible with Graninger's suggestion that the sanctuary at Philia in the Iron and Archaic Ages, despite the wealth and widespread origin of its artifacts, may have been a sacred domain of the western Thessalian region rather than of the entire Thessalian *ethnos*.[267] In view of these possibilities and the probability of yet undiscovered Thessalian shrines of Athena Itonia, it is advisable to be at least tentative in associating events of uncertain location with the sanctuary at Philia, inferring, for example, that this was the place where the Thessalians set up the twelve bronze cows of Phradmon and where Pyrrhos dedicated the shields of Antigonos' Gallic mercenaries.[268] Nevertheless, since the sanctuary at Philia is a proven focus of the Thessalian League's business after 196 BC, it is a reasonable hypothesis, as noted earlier,

266 Helly 1992, pp. 90–91 and map 4. Coins of "*Thessaloi*" (Arena 1960; Franke 1970); for an exemplary image of these coins, see Fig. **23** (silver Thessalian hemidrachm, ca. 450 BC) with the abbreviation ΦΕΤΑ[λων]. Cf. above, p. 24 and footnotes 64–66, and p. 78, footnotes 207–208, on the ἱερὰ χῶρα, possibly a domain of Athena Itonia, that was apparently in the shared, but at times disputed, area between Phthiotic Thebes and Halos.

267 Graninger 2011, pp. 62–64. For the sanctuary at Philia as a local and hypaethral *temenos* until the third c. BC, see also Mackil 2013, p. 158; Morgan 2003, p. 141.

268 Bronze cows: *Anth. Pal.* 9.743. Gallic shields: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.9–10; Diod. Sic. 22.11.1; Pausanias 1.13.2–3; Lévêque 1957, pp. 565–568. For the two texts, see above, footnotes 79 and 81. Theocharis (1964, p. 249 n. 15) assigned both dedications to the sanctuary at Philia; see also Rakatsanis and Tziafalias 1997, pp. 16–17; Mili 2015, p. 35 n. 106. If the wording Θεσσαλαὶ αἱ βόες in the epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 9.743) inscribed and dedicated after the Thessalian defeat of the Illyrians was meant to convey that the victorious army was formed from a *sympolit-eia* or a *koinon*, then this trophy would likely have been set up at the gates of a sanctuary of ethnic importance, but there is no certainty that this was the site at Philia. Still, a shrine in western Thessaly might make geographical sense for a trophy from the Illyrian war. As for Pyrrhos' dedication, if Pausanias was right that it was placed at a sanctuary of Athena Itonia between Pherai and Larisa—whether Pelasgiote Larisa or Larisa Kremaste (for this controversy, see below, pp. 81–84)—it is impossible to reconcile any of those reference points with the location of Philia.

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that this was the *hieron* of Athena Itonia where Perseus of Macedon published the recall of exiles after his alliance with Rome in 179/8 BC.[269]

For more than three decades now the acknowledged importance of the sanctuary excavated at Philia, combined with the long known facts of Strabo's textual difficulties and the failure to find an Itonos and Itonian sanctuary in or around the Krokian Plain, has generated significant controversy and inspired much ingenuity about the existence, location, and status of Itonian *temenê* in Thessaly, and particularly in Achaia Phthiotis, Thessaliotis, and Histiaiotis. The simplest and most novel side of this controversy is that Iton and Itonos were the same town, and that this town referred to in Homer, Strabo, and in the epigraphical notices of the theoric missions of Kos and Mytilene was not in Achaia Phthiotis, but at or near the Thessaliote sanctuary of Athena Itonia near modern Philia.[270] Some proponents of this view regularly refer to the site at Philia or to any Itonian shrine without a locative modifier as "*the* [my emphasis] sanctuary of Athena Itonia" (τὸ ιερό τῆς Ιτωνίας Αθηνάς), seeming to imply that it was throughout its history the Panthessalian, federal, or chief Thessalian shrine of Itonia, if not the only one.[271] Variations on this hypothesis

269 Polyb. 25.3.1–2; cf. above, p. 21 and footnote 53.

270 See, e.g., *Brill's NPAnt*, vol. 6, 2005, col. 1027, s.v. Iton (Ἴτων, Ἴτωνος) (H. Kramolisch): "One of the oldest Greek cities, within the Thessalian core territory of Tetras Thessaliotis (Str. 9.5.14 [435]) in the valley of the Curalios / Cuarios, a right tributary of the Peneios. Within its territory was the Thessalian tribal sanctuary of Athena Itonia ([Strabo] 9.5.17[438]). Because of an erroneous distance given by Strabo (9.5.8 [433]), the city and its sanctuary were thought to be near Halus (Achaea Phthiotis), but excavations near modern Philia have verified their location *c.* 16 km south-east of Karditsa and *c.* 10 km upriver of Cierium." For the Koan and Mytilenean theoriai, see above, pp. 52–56, and *IG* XII 4. 1. 133; 207; *SEG* LV 605. P.W. Wallace (1979, p. 115), taking Strabo's sanctuary at Itonos (9.5.14 [435]) as the Thessalian sanctuary that the Geographer says (9.2.29 [411]) was the namesake of the one in Boiotian Koroneia, claimed that Theocharis (1965, pp. 311–113) believed he had found that Thessalian sanctuary at Philia. While Theocharis (1964, pp. 248–249; 1965, p. 311) did equate the site at Philia by the modern Sophaditikos River with Strabo's (9.5.17[438]) Itonian sanctuary by the Kouralios ("ἡ Κουάριος") River that empties into the Peneios (Theocharis believed this sanctuary was in Thessaliotis, for which see below, pp. 78–81, *Histiaiotis, Near Pharkadon*), he did not equate Philia with Itonos. Wallace's statement, however, may eventually have helped promote that equation. Eva Hanschmann and Herwig Kramolisch wrote in 1989 (Lauffer, s.v. Iton) on Strabo's sanctuary of Itonia near Itonos: „Das Heiligtum scheint jetzt bei Philia nachgewiesen zu sein." See also *Neue Pauly* V, 1998, col. 1182–1183, s.v. Iton (H. Kramolisch); Parker 1998, p. 18; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 1 ("… thessalischen Stammesheiligtum der Athena Itonis am Kuarios auf dem Gebiet der Stadt Iton in der Landschaft Thessaliotis."); 2005, p. 119; Radt (vol. VII, 2008) on Strabo 435C.33 (9.5.14): „Itonos … bei Philia sö. von Karditsa."

271 E.g., Intzesiloglou 2006, passim, refers to τὸ ιερό τῆς Ιτωνίας Αθηνάς, but allows (p. 26) the existence of other local sanctuaries, as at Krannon (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 2.34). The notion

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are that there was an Itonos or Iton in both regions,[272] or that the toponym Ἴτωνος in Strabo's text and in the inscriptions about the theoric missions of Kos and Mytilene was a term for the federal sanctuary of the Thessalians at Philia, while Homeric Iton was the site of another another sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Achaia Phthiotis, but not necessarily Strabo's location in the plain near Halos.[273]

The strict hypothesis that Iton or Itonos refers only to the sanctuary at Philia or a place nearby is tempting because it seems to solve or mitigate a number of problems referred to above: 1) It writes off Strabo's problematic geographical reference points to Achaia Phthiotis as error; 2) Strabo's town of Itonos, shrine of Itonia, and Kouarios River are all mislocated from Thessaliotis and thus no longer out of place in the Geographer's phrase "ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Θετταλιώτιδος."[274] 3) It offers a reason for the failure of topographers and archaeologists to discover convincing candidates for the city of Itonos and its sanctuary in Achaia Phthiotis; 4) As a recognized sanctuary, that at Philia in tetradic Thessaly is a fitting destination for the third-century Koan and Mytilenean theoriai "to Itonos"; 5) Objections to an Itonian sanctuary of federal or superior importance in perioikic territory become moot; 6) Strabo's statements about the Thessalian source of the Itonian cult in Boiotian Koroneia become unambiguous.[275]

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of a single ethnic sanctuary of the Thessalians is reminiscent of the 19th-century view that Giannopoulos first held and then repudiated. Klaus Freitag (2006, pp. 230–231), while recognizing that the dispute between Phthiotic Thebes and Halos over the ἱερὰ χώρα (*FdD* III 4, no. 355) was a federal matter, asserted that this sanctuary could not be identified with the distant central Thessalian shrine of Athena Itonia (at Philia) but that it might be some yet unrecognized site in the border region between Halos and Thebes; cf. Helly 2001, p. 243 and n. 16; Helly and Decourt 2007, *BullÉp* 120, p. 691, no. 350.

272 E.g., Mili 2015, p. 230: "It is preferable to argue that Itonos was also the name of a place in Thessaly [vis-à-vis Achaia Phthiotis], the area around Philia."

273 See Helly 2001, p. 243, and n. 16; Helly and Decourt 2004, *BullÉp* 117, p. 626, no. 211; Tziafalias and Helly 2004–2005, pp. 396–397 and nn. 20 (with credit to Denis Knoepfler) and 25; as further evidence of an Itonian shrine in Achaia Phthiotis, Tziafalias and Helly (p. 398) accept White's (1984) interpretation of Kallimachos' second reference to Koroneia as the Thessalian town homonymous with that in Boiotia (see above, pp. 28, 65, and footnotes 81 and 234, and below, Chapter Two, pp. 103–104 and footnotes 57–61, on the propagation of the Itonian cult from Thessaly to Boiotian Koroneia); see also Helly and DeCourt 2007, *BullÉp* 120, p. 691, no. 350.

274 Strabo, 9.5.8 (433); 9.5.14 (435). Tziafalias and Helly (2004–2005, p. 399), in interpreting Strabo 9.5.14 as a reference to Itonos in Thessaliotis but allowing for a sanctuary at Iton in Achaia Phthiotis, proposed to mitigate further the Geographer's ambiguity by emending ταῦτα to the crasis ταὐτά and translating the phrase as "But these same places exist in Thessaliotis, one of the divisions of Thessaly taken in its entirety …"

275 Strabo, 9.2.3 (401); 9.2.29 (411).

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Despite the aforementioned opinions and their hypothetical advantages, the case for understanding Itonos as Philia has not won unanimity among scholars,[276] nor does it override the fact that most of the geographical indicators around Homer's reference to Iton and that of Strabo to Itonos point to Phthiotic Achaia.[277] Furthermore, Itonos in that perioikic region is a rather logical destination for the *theoroi* of Kos and Mytilene. In consideration of Kent Rigsby's views that the second Koan decree was concerned with economizing its theoric mission, and that its itinerary in Thessaly began at the Gulf of Pagasai,[278] the idea of celebrating the Itonia with the Thessalians immediately upon arrival at a nearby Phthiotic sanctuary makes more practical and economic sense than a long overland pilgrimage to Thessaliotis. Even though we know that the *koinon* of the Thessalians paid special attention to the sanctuary at Philia after 196 BC, this does not exclude their gathering and celebrating at another sanctuary even in the case of the subsequent Mytilenean *theoria*.[279] I have not found in the literary and epigraphic sources any reference to a sanctuary of Athena Itonia as τὸ κοινὸν ἱερὸν τῶν Θεσσαλῶν or τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν,[280] and, as suggested earlier, it may be that any sanctuary where the federated Thessalians chose to meet, celebrate, or conduct other business became for their purposes a federal sanctuary.[281]

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276 For recent continuing acceptance of Strabo's Itonos being only in Achaia Phthiotis, see Bosnakis and Hallof 2003, pp. 233–234, in their commentary in the publication of the Thessalian decrees for the Asklepieia of Kos; also Burrer 1993, p. 49 and n. 148; Graninger 2011, p. 56 and nn. 40 and 41.

277 Kramolisch's (*Brill's NPAnt*, vol. 6, 2005, col. 1027, s.v. Iton [Ἴτων, Ἴτωνος]) explanation of Strabo's apparent location of Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis as the result of giving "an erroneous distance" dismisses too easily the complexity of the Geographer's points of reference (Strabo 9.5.8 [433]; 9.5.14 [435]; see above, p. 61 and footnotes 209 and 213), and it does not address the fact that Homer puts Iton in the same region of eastern Thessaly (above, pp. 10–11, 59, and footnotes 8 and 205).

278 See above, pp. 52–54 and footnotes 175–180, the discussion of *IG* XII 4.1. 207 and Rigsby 2004, pp. 9–14. Although Strabo's Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis has not been located, to the extent that there is merit in his points of reference, the *theoroi* from Kos would have landed in what is the modern Bay of Almyros, the more convenient of the two ports (Iolkos or Demetrias) of the Gulf of Pagasai.

279 Cf. Mili 2015, pp. 230, 252, for the allowance of an Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis in addition to Philia as Itonos but that the latter with its long tradition as the place of Thessalian invasion was the likelier site where the *theoriai* of Kos and Mytilene were received.

280 Such a formula was part of Mario Segré's (1934, p. 176, no. B 2, line 6) restoration in the early-third-century Koan *theoria* to Itonos (now *IG* XII 4. 1. 133): [ἀναθέντω ἐς τὸ ἱαρὸν τᾶς Ἀθάνας τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Θεσσ] αλοῖς …). But that restoration is, at best, *exempli gratia.*

281 See above, pp. 54–55 and footnotes 185–186. Cf. Graninger's (2011, pp. 44–45) criteria of a federal sanctuary, and his summary definition that it is a sanctuary that "is patronized by a federal league (or apparatus thereof)." Besides the Late Hellenistic and Roman

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If there is to be any consensus about the meaning and location of "Itonos," it will probably depend in some part on future archaeological discovery. In the meantime, there is merit in the measured point of view that arguments for transferring or doubling the location of Itonos, while in the main "sober" and "clearly reasoned," cannot be proved or disproved by the evidence we now have from the Philia sanctuary or elsewhere.[282] Moreover, in view of the fragmentary state of our knowledge about the Itonian cult, it is probably better to consider that the long-term status of sanctuaries may not have been static or unique, but may have shifted at various places and time with change in circumstances. Regarding the primacy of the shrine at Philia, Graninger has suggested that the prominence of its votives from the Late Geometric and Archaic periods and their decline in the Classical and early Hellenistic ages may reflect not a Panthessalian *ethnos*, but a regional constituency centered in western Thessaly, and that it is only the sanctuary's heightened activity in the late Hellenistic period, particularly its epigraphical production, that marks a transition to service as an ethnic cult place of Athena Itonia under the control of the Thessalian League.[283]

At this point the historical importance of the site at Philia does not depend on its being throughout the history of the Itonian cult its only Itonian sanctuary, or its chief sanctuary, or the progenitor of the cult elsewhere in Thessaly and Greece—none provable theses on the basis of current evidence. The site at Philia has extraordinary scholarly significance because, in spite of the long and apparently widespread Thessalian devotion to the cult of Athena Itonia, the literary testimonia to various of her sanctuaries, and the extensive modern quest for archaeological evidence of her sanctuaries, it is the only site in

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sanctuary at Philia, there may be yet undiscovered sanctuaries, including one at Iton or Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis, that fit this definition.

282 Graninger 2011, p. 63–64.

283 For Philia as the sanctuary of the Thessalian *ethnos* and *koinon* from early time, see Theocharis 1964, pp. 248–249, and Parker 1998, pp. 18–19. Helly (1992, p. 91), seeing the Itonian sanctuary at Philia as serving a regional *koinon* of surrounding cities as early as the Archaic period (see above, p. 73 and footnote 266), correlated the installation and importance of the shrine with the fact that the western plain, and particularly Thessaliotis, was the cradle of Thessalian history, the region where, according to legend, the *ethnos* of the *Thessaloi* first established itself in prehistoric time. Graninger (2011, pp. 2, 63–67) correlated this same ethnic sentiment with what he viewed as the first Panthessalian patronage of the sanctuary at Philia, that is, by the league established in 196 BC, and noted further a strategic purpose for this patronage, namely, that a strong new use of the sanctuary for the conduct and publication of federal religious and diplomatic business laid an emphatic claim to a region of Thessaly that was coveted by neighboring powers after its liberation from Macedonia.

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Thessaly where Hellenistic inscriptions and earlier artifacts of a military and feminine nature have virtually confirmed the presence of a long-standing sanctuary of this prominent Thessalian goddess.

4.4 *Histiaiotis*

4.4.1 Near Pharkadon

The notion of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Pharkadon in the *tetras* of Histiaiotis stems mainly from the restoration of a single word in the text of Strabo 9.5.17 (438).[284] According to that restoration the Geographer reports that the rivers Peneios and Kouralios flow through Pharkadon, and, of the two streams, the Kouralios flows by the sanctuary of Itonian Athena and empties into the Peneios.[285] A gap in Codex *A* at the phrase … αιας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, and a gloss (ἰτωνί) by a second hand in the margin of this manuscript prompted Conrad Bursian and other editors to restore, with deletion of the initial alpha after the gap, Ἰτων]ίας Ἀθηνᾶς.[286] Other codices and editions have at this juncture Ἰθωμίας Ἀθηνᾶς, interpreted as "Athena of Ithome," referring to another city in Histiaiotis.[287] Georgiadou, seconded by Giannopoulos, believing at the time of their early studies of Thessaly that the only Itonian sanctuary was that noted by Strabo in Achaia Phthiotis, restored in Codex *A* Πελιννα]ίας Ἀθηνᾶς, pointing to Skylax's mention of a toponym Pelinna in the inland of Thessaly and Strabo's naming the same place as one of four strongholds near Ithome in Histiaiotis.[288] If we presume *ex hypothesi* that the restoration Ἰτων]ίας is correct, Strabo's supposed testimony to an Itonian sanctuary near Pharkadon in Histiaiotis involves again the vexing matter of the testified river-names, Kouralios and Kouarios. Stählin, having explained Strabo's (9.5.14 [435])

284 For Pharkadon, see *IACP*, pp. 702–702, no. 412.

285 Strabo, 9.5.17 (438), ed. F. Sbordone, Rome 2000: ἔστι δὲ Φαρκαδὼν ἐν τῇ Ἰστιαιώτιδι, καὶ ῥεῖ δι' αὐτῶν ὁ Πηνειὸς καὶ ὁ Κουράλιος· ὧν ὁ Κουράλιος, ῥυεὶς παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, εἰς τὸν Πηνειὸν ἐξίησιν,

286 For the gap in Codex A, unnoted in the apparatus of most editions, see *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2372, line 50 to col. 2373, line 5, s.v. Ἴτων (F. Stählin); Radt, commentary on 438.10 (9.5.17). Texts restoring Ἰτωνίας: Bursian 1862–1872, vol. 1, p. 52 and n. 1; Müller and Dübner 1853; Meineke 1852b, vol. 2, p. 618; H.L. Jones (Strabo; Loeb Classical Library, 1927, vol. 4); Radt 2004, vol. 3, 438C.10 (9.5.17).

287 See Kramer 1844–1852, vol. 2, pp. 314–315 n. on line 13; cf. Ἰθωμαίας: Du Mesnil 1860, p. 40. For the city of Ithome, see Strabo 9.5.17 (437).

288 See *IACP*, pp. 700–701, no. 409 s.v. Pelinna(ion). Strabo (9.5.17 [438]) is likely right to put Pelinna in Histiaiotis. Pseudo-Skylax (4th c.) 64.1 (The unspecific "Skylax" of Georgiades [1880] 1995, pp. 32; see also pp. 188–189, 219–220, and Giannopoulos [1892, p. 478 n. 1]) puts it in Phthiotis; cf. Tziafalias 1992. Helly (*BullÉp* 1995, p. 481, no. 334; *SEG* XLIII 293) has suggested that modern Petroporos is not Pelinna, but Pharkadon.

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Kouarios River in Achaia Phthiotis as a mistake for a Kouralios River, interpreted the Geographer's Kouralios in Histiaiotis as another misplaced name, this time a transfer from the true Kouralios at Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis.[289] Dubious of such a coincidence of river names and sanctuaries, Stählin decided that the sanctuary near Pharkadon in Histiaiotis was non-existent, a fiction born of Strabo's confused knowledge of the Itonian shrine believed to be near Philia in Thessaliotis on the river that Strabo called Kouarios.[290] With the actual discovery of the Itonian sanctuary at Philia, Demetrios Theocharis and Georges Daux advanced Stählin's view with the conclusion that Strabo's claimed sanctuary in Histiaiotis (9.5.17 [438]), if the Ἰτων]ίας of Codex *A* was in fact Strabonic, was a confused doublet of that at Philia.[291] In sum, the scholars who rejected the idea of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia on a Kouralios River near Pharkadon in Histiaiotis did so largely on the basis of three facts that still obtain: the uncertainty of Athena's byname in the manuscript tradition of Strabo, the Geographer's confusion of the location and names of rivers in Thessaly,[292] and the lack of any corroborating evidence in ancient literature or modern archaeology of an Itonian sanctuary near Pharkadon.[293]

These conclusions, however, did not clarify altogether Strabo's references to Pharkadon, Histiaiotis, and the Kouralios as mistakes for Thessaliotis and the Kouarios. The discussion of Strabo 9.5.17 (438) and the question of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Histiaiotis was significantly advanced by the more

289 See above, p. 64 and footnote 231, for Stählin's views on the name of the river near Itonos. Apart from the problem of matching Thessalian sanctuaries of Athena Itonia and rivers, it is noteworthy that most of these sanctuaries are described as near rivers, and, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, the same is true of Itonian sanctuaries in Boiotian Koroneia and Athens. On the practical and spiritual importance of a water supply in Greek cult rituals, see Cole 1988; Lalonde 2006a, pp. 20–21.

290 *RE* XI, 1922, col. 2088, lines 22–25, s.v. Kuarios (F. Stählin): „… und das Heiligtum der Itonia in Histiaiotis existierte nicht, sondern ist bloss mit dem vertauschten Flussnamen Kuralios aus der Phthiotis in die Histiaiotis versetzt worden." In addition to this rejection Stählin (col. 2088, lines 26–30) ruled out Bursian's (1862–1872, vol. 1, 52) identification of this Kouralios with the river the Κουμέρκης, which flows between the Trikkalinos (Lethaios) and the Peneios. Plethon's emendation of Κουράλιος to Κουάριος was, according to Radt (commentary on Strabo 438 [9.5.17]), based not on knowledge of the geography but simply the desire to create agreement with Strabo's other references to Kouarios (411 [9.2.29], 412 [9.2.33], and 435 [9.5.14]); see also Helly 2000, p. 37 n. 32.

291 Theocharis 1964, pp. 248–249; 1965, p. 311; Daux 1967, p. 703; see also *PECS*, s.v. Philia; Intzesiloglou 2006, pp. 225–227; Mili 2015, p. 231 n. 87.

292 *RE* XI, 1922, col. 2087, s.v. Kuarios (F. Stählin): "Über die Flüsse K[uarios] und Kuralios herrscht bei Strabon grosse Unklarheit." See Graninger 2011, p. 52 and n. 25, and above, p. 59 and footnote 203, on the larger problem of Strabo's reliability.

293 Giannopoulos 1892, p. 478; *RE* XI, 1922, col. 2088, lines 20–26, s.v. Kuarios (F. Stählin).

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expansive argument of Bruno Helly, an argument with some hypothetical and potentially controversial premises but one which produces an attractively economical solution to the problems of river names and thereby a possibly improved knowledge of the existence and location of Itonian sanctuaries, not only the supposed one in Histiaiotis but also those in Achaia Phthiotis, Thessaliotis, and Boiotian Koroneia.[294] At its basis, Helly's conclusion about Strabo's Itoneion in Histiaiotis is the same as that asserted by the scholars noted above, namely, that Strabo or his sources took some information that applied to the sanctuary at Philia and mistakenly conflated from it an additional Itoneion near Pharkadon in Histiaiotis. What sets Helly's argument apart are the details that led him to the conclusion: Regardless of the existence of a cult of Poseidon Kouarios in Thessaliotis, Helly ruled out altogether a river named Kouarios, even in the upper course of the modern Sophaditikos, and proposed that this modern river was thoughout its ancient course called the Kouralios.[295] Helly noted that today the Sophaditikos lies entirely within what was the ancient *tetras* of Thessaliotis. Dealing also with the fact that the modern river does not flow directly into the Peneios, as Strabo claimed of the ancient Kouralios,[296] Helly argued that, in view of the regularly shifting of riverbeds in this marshy region of northern Thessaliotis, the ancient Kouralios

294 Helly 2000, pp. 35–37.

295 See Helly's (2000, p. 37) critique of Jean-Claude Decourt (1995, no. 20 [=*IG* IX 2. 265]) on this view. Helly here considered, but doubted, a deformation of *Kôralios that yielded among other forms *Kourarios and then Kouarios by the disappearance of /r/. But, in consideration of the easy interchange of liquids /r/ and /l/, this seems a likely explanation of the confusion of Strabo or his sources, that is, the byname of Poseidon Kouarios familiar in the upper region of the river mistakenly replaced the phonetically similar name Kouralios. Since we do not know when or to what extent this shift of names caught on, it does little harm to Helly's thesis that the modern Sophaditikos River was in its entire ancient course originally named Kouralios.

296 The same early modern sources that had the Onochonos as the stream that flows by Philia and the sites currently identified as Arne and Kierion (see above, p. 35 and footnote 110) interpreted the Kouralios of Strabo 9.5.17 (438) as a northwestern tributary of the Peneios in Histiaiotis (see, e.g., Shepherd 1911, map, pp. 10–11, D c, for both rivers). In view of the discoveries at Philia and the cult of Poseidon Kouarios in the region, the modern Sophaditikos has commonly been identified as the river that ancient sources call the Kouarios. Graninger (2011, pp. 51–52; with credit to Radt, vol. VII, 2008, p. 122, commentary on Strabo 438.10 [9.5.17], s.v. Kuralios) noted that the modern Sophaditikos ("Kouarios") "does indeed flow into the Peneios ca. 7–8 km east of what has been identified as the ancient settlement of Pharkadon." But the modern stream of Strabo's 9.5.17 (438) Kouarios / Kouralios, i.e., the Sophaditikos, does not flow directly into the Peneios, but, as Stählin (*RE* XI, 1922, col. 2088, lines 1–7, s.v. Kuarios) noted, it is the middle one of five streams that join at the place once called Dobrutscha-dag and then in one bed (Stählin's Onochonos) bring their water to the Peneios (i.e., ca. 3.2 km north of the juncture of the five streams).

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may at one time have flowed directly into the Peneios. He suggested further that the root of the name Κωράλιος/ Κουράλιος lay not in κώρα/κούρη, a reference to Athena, as Farnell first thought,[297] but rather in the ancient Greek word κωρά(λ)λιον ("coral"),[298] an allusion to the eroded red schist that colors the rivers that flow from the mountains of Thessaly.[299] This geological etymology allows the plausibility of Helly's further suggestion that there was more than one river in Thessaly name Kouralios ("Red River"), including the streams of Achaia Phthiotis and Thessaliotis that Strabo called Kouarios. It follows from this that Strabo was also wrong in stating that the Boiotian fugitives from Thessaly brought with them the name Kouarios and gave it to the river beside their new sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia in Boiotia. Thus, contrary to Strabo's claim that Alkaios was mistaken in calling the Boiotian river Κωράλιος, the Lesbian poet and later Kallimachos were right that the river near Koroneia was the Κωράλιος / Κουράλιος.[300] In conclusion, it is fair to say that the current state of ancient evidence and modern scholarship, particularly that of Helly, regarding the names Kouarios and Kouralios has advanced our knowledge of the existence and location of sanctuaries of Athena Itonia, including the negative conclusion that Strabo 9.5.17 (438) is not to be interpreted as evidence of an Itonian sanctuary near Pharkadon in Histiaiotis. This does not prove, of course, that the goddess did not have a sanctuary in Histiaiotis. In view of the general prominence of the cult of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, we cannot rule out the possibility of an Itonian sanctuary in the northwest *tetras*. It is simply that there is no clear evidence of one. Though we have to this point also not completely worked through the question of the place and sanctuary in Thessaly from which the Boiotians propagated the Itonian cult southward to their eponymous homeland, this subject will be given further study below in Chapter Two.

4.5 *Pelasgiotis*

4.5.1 Between Pherai and Larisa

As we noted earlier, three ancient writers report Pyrrhos the Molossian's reduction of upper Macedonia and Thessaly, his victory over Antigonos Gonatas, and his dedication of the shields of Antigonos' Gallic mercenaries at a sanctuary of Athena Itonia, but Pausanias alone locates the sanctuary, "between Pherai and

297 See above, p. 65 and footnote 233.

298 LSJ, s.v. κοράλλιον = κωράλλιον or κωράλιον: "Att. acc. to Hdn. Gr. 2.537: *coral*, esp. *red coral*."

299 Helly 2000, p. 37 and nn. 33–35.

300 Strabo 9.2.29 (411); 9.2.33 (412); Alc. (Lobel-Page, fr 325; cited by Strabo, 9.2.29 [411]); Callim. 5.62–64.

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Larisa," the names of two prominent cities of Pelasgiotis.[301] Nevertheless, the 19th-century scholars who believed that Zerelia was the location of Strabo's sanctuary of Itonia near Itonos[302] and that it was the only Itonian sanctuary in Thessaly took Pausanias' reference to Larisa as Larisa Kremaste in southern Achaia Phthiotis, because Zerelia was roughly on a long line between that Larisa and Pelasgiote Pherai (Map 2).[303] As Zerelia was eventually discredited as the location of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia and no alternative site was found in Phthiotic Achaia, the view of Pausanias' Larisa as Kremaste lost favor, though not altogether.[304] Nevertheless, the view that Pelasgiotis was the location of the sanctuary seems preferable, because Pherai and Larisa were significant cities in that *tetras*, whereas Larisa Kremaste was a minor settlement rather far south in Achaia and thus a less likely point of reference with Pherai. The more significant location would also be more in line with Plutarch's remark that Pyrrhos considered his victory against Antigonos and his Gallic mercenaries as his greatest military achievement.[305] Strabo is of no help on this question, since he sometimes fails to distinguish—and sometimes equates—the two Larisas.[306] More recently, as noted above, the Itonian shrine of Pyrrhos' dedication has been interpreted as a mistake for the sanctuary at Philia,[307] but, since no site in Thessaliotis could fit either interpretation of Pausanias' reference to Larisa and Pherai, this notion rests mainly on the importance of the solely discovered sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Philia and mistrust of Pausanias. Recent scholarship on the general reliability of Pausanias, his claim

301 Diod. Sic. 22.11.1; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.9–10; Paus. 1.13.2–3. For the text of Pyrrhos' dedicatory epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 6.130), see above, p. 28 and footnote 81; for the dedication in general, see Lévêque 1957, pp. 565–568. See *IACP* for the Pelasgiote *poleis* of Pherai (pp. 704–706, no. 414) and Larisa (pp. 695–697, no. 401).

302 Strabo 9.5.14 (435).

303 Georgiades [1880] 1995, p. 32; Giannopoulos 1892, p. 477; Stählin 1906, p. 15; *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2371, lines 1–15, s.v. *Ἴτων* (F. Stählin). For Zerelia, see above, pp. 62–65.

304 Wallace (1979, p. 115), believing that Pyrrhos' dedication was made at the Itoneion in Itonos of Achaia Phthiotis, must have taken Pausanias 1.13.2 as a reference to Larisa Kremaste ; see also Moustaka 1983, p. 24; Martin 1985, p. 148; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 1; Intzesiloglou 2006. p. 225.

305 Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.

306 Strabo 9.5.13 [435]: ἡ Κρεμαστὴ Λάρισα ... ἡ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ Πελασγία λεγομένη Λάρισα; 9.5.19 [440]: Λάρισα δ'ἐστὶ ... καὶ ἡ Κρεμαστή, ὑπό τινων δὲ Πελασγία λεγομένη. In the first of these equations the geographical context is clearly Achaia Phthiotis. Strabo's inconsistency is further evident from four other passages that clearly distinguish Larisa in Pelasgiotis, either naming it simply Larisa (9.5.3 [430]) or describing it as by the Peneios River (8.8.5 [389], 9.5.17 [438]) or in the Pelasgiote Plain (9.5.22 [443]).

307 Theocharis 1964, p. 249 n. 15; Cf. above, pp. 74–77, on the recent tendency to ascribe Strabo's Itonos and the location of Itonian sanctuaries to the site at Philia.

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to have visited Thessaly, and his familiarity with other Thessalian material add further support for putting aside the hypotheses of Larisa Kremaste as the reckoning point and of Philia as the *temenos* in question in favor of accepting the possibility of an otherwise unaccounted sanctuary of Athena Itonia in a rural location somewhere between Pelasgiote Pherai and Larisa.[308] The further testimony that Pyrrhos also dedicated the shields of Antigonos' Macedonians at his own major sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona suggests that he attached considerable importance to the sanctuary he chose in Thessaly, though his motivation in each case was likely different. As the isolated location of the important sanctuary near Philia itself shows, a site in the countryside does not gainsay high status for a proposed rural Pelasgiote shrine.[309] Graninger has suggested that Pyrrhos purposely chose a sanctuary that would reach a regional audience between the two significant cities, and that his trophy and epigram at this site amounted to a political use of cult in a campaign to alienate Thessaly from the Antigonids.[310] Graninger has wisely linked this motivation with Pyrrhos' ethnic and personal propaganda in his epigram's reference to "Aiakidai … warriors now and in days of old," an allusion to Pyrrhos' mythic descent from Thessalian Achilles through Neoptolemos, the legendary founder of the Epeirote dynasty, and a veiled suggestion that the Thessalians take the example of his own victory and imitate their shared heroic ancestors.[311] Since Pyrrhos' victory included reduction of the Thessalians, as their new king he likely intended this dedication at a prominent sanctuary of their chief deity to flatter their ethnic sentiment as well as to urge them to cast off Macedonian influence.[312] For the

308 See Graninger 2011, pp. 52–53 and nn. 25, 28–30, on the subject of the location of this sanctuary and, with reference to the research of Pritchett (1998–1999, vol. 2, pp. 162–167), on the reliability of Pausanias' topography.

309 Cf. above p. 73 and footnote 266, for Helly's (1992, pp. 90–91 and map 4) view of the Itoneion at Philia as a rural sanctuary serving surrounding cities but somewhat independent of them. See also below, Chapter Four, pp. 233–236, for the view that an Itonian sanctuary on Amorgos was possibly shared by the *poleis* of Arkesine and Minoa and located in open country between the two city centers.

310 See Graninger 2011, p. 54, for the added point that, while this sanctuary probably did not have ethnic status among the Thessalians, Pyrrhos' choice of it bespeaks his recognition of the importance of the Itonian cult in general and this sanctuary in particular. For Pyrrhos' motivation and history of unsuccessful attempts "to pry Thessaly away from the Antigonids," see Graninger 2011, pp. 53–54 and n. 31, with references to Hammond and Walbank 1988, pp. 220–221(with n. 1), and Errington 1990, p. 150.

311 See Mili 2015, p. 245 and n. 167, for Thessalian interest in the cult of Neoptolemos at Delphi during the fourth century.

312 For this motivation of Pyrrhos, including the idea that his dedication in Thessaly is meant to present his Thessalian subjects as allies in his victory; see Tarn 1913, p. 265; Lévêque 1957, p. 567; Graninger 2011, pp. 53–54. Lévêque (p. 568) highlights this motive by his

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latter objective, the choice of a site in northern Thessaly somewhat proximate to Macedon may have been purposeful.

4.5.2 Krannon

While the late but numerous appearances of the month of Itonios in sacred calendars of Thessalian *poleis* may indicate widespread celebration of Athena Itonia, the only explicit reference to her festival, the Itonia, at a specific Thessalian city is Polyaenus' mention of this celebration by all the people of Pelasgiote Krannon as the occasion for Deinias' establishment of his tyranny.[313] Since this account concerns only the Krannonians, the festival must have been one of the local *polis* rather than of the Thessalian *ethnos*, and the sanctuary that it presupposes would have been in Krannon or its vicinity.[314] Though this *temenos* has not been discovered, an inscribed second-century decree of Krannon (*IG* IX 2. 460) found in the wider area of the city has a provision for its publication in the sanctuary of Athena, possibly the Itonian goddess. In consideration of the close connection of Athena Itonia to Thessalian cavalry that is inferred in part from the numismatic pairing of images of the goddess and horsemen, a relief from Krannon of a goddess crowning a horse may represent not Ennodia, as sometimes thought, but the goddess of the local Itonian cult.[315]

4.6 *Conclusion*

The chief points derived from this study of Athena Itonia in Thessaly are that the cult of this goddess probably originated there in prehistoric time, that it eventually spread throughout Thessaly, and that its importance there was recognized by the wider Greek world. Although the evidence is too fragmentary to allow precision about the time and place of the cult's origin and the chronology

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comparison of the diplomatic epigram of the Thessalian dedication with the distinctly anti-Macedonian tone of the verses that accompanied the dedication of the shields of Antigonos' compatriots at Pyrrhos' own national sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona: Αἵδε ποτ' Ἀσίδα γαῖαν ἐπόρθησαν πολύχρυσον, / αἵδε καὶ Ἕλλασιν δουλοσύναν ἔπορον. / νῦν δὲ Διὸς ναῷ ποτὶ κίονας ὀρφανὰ κεῖται / τᾶς μεγαλαυχήτω σκῦλα Μακεδονίας (Paus. 1.13.3).

313 Polyaenus, *Strat*. 2.34.14. If there is any doubt about the historicity of this event, it may lie in the possibility that festivals had become pseudo-historical commonplace occasions for the establishment of tyrannies, that is, when the populace was distracted or away from the city's defenses; cf. Thuc. 1.126, for Kylon's attempted coup during the Athenian Diasia.

314 Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 226 and n. 34; Graninger 2011, pp. 54–55.

315 For this relief, see Biesantz 1965, table 49, L 55; Chrysostomou 1998, pp. 58, 152–153; Mili 2015, pp. 153,157. Other extant coinage of Krannon features prominently horses (*BMC*. vol. 6, Thessaly, Crannon, pp. 16–17, nos. 1–2, 7–8; pl. II:11–12, 14–15), but rarely types of Athena.

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and course of its propagation throughout Thessaly, the hypotheses that have shown the most cogency and that still have major appeal among scholars are that the cult originated in association with the place called Iton or Itonos, that the fully developed cult worshipped a goddess who was probably the combination of a local pre-Greek or Aiolic heroine Itonia and the greater Athena, and that the cult was adopted by two successive ethnic groups, the *Boiotoi* and the *Thessaloi*, who invaded the region from Epeiros in the prehistoric era. The religious identity with Athena Itonia was clearly more dominant than ethnic and political identity, and this allowed the endurance of her cult throughout greater geographic Thessaly, despite ethnic and political differences among the Thessalians, *penestai*, and *perioikoi*, and despite recurrent shifts in the political and military power structure among ethnic groups, regional estates, *poleis*, and federations.

As for the character of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, practically all the evidence indicates that she was a martial goddess, and that her character had a close association with the military horsemanship and famed cavalry that grew out of the political and military caste of aristocrats and the wide and fertile plains of Thessaly. There are literary references to a number of Thessalian sanctuaries and in some cases hints of their locations, but topographical and archaeological investigations have yielded only a single certain site, the one excavated by Theocharis and his fellow Greek archaeologists near the modern village of Philia in Thessaliotis. Nevertheless, Thessaly is a large region with much still to be explored, and the discovery at Philia, a product of gradual scholarship and serendipity, is a favorable omen for further productive scholarship and revelations about the Itonian cult in Thessaly. Whether the antiquity and preeminence of the Itonian cult in Thessaly in combination with evidence of it among other Greek peoples indicate that Thessaly was the direct source of the cult among all or any of these peoples, and, if so, what were the manner and means of its propagation, and whether the military attributes of Thessalian Itonia were transmitted with the cult, are among the matters to be taken up in each of the subsequent chapters of this book.

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MAP 3 Boiotia

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CHAPTER 2

Boiotia

1 Introduction

Any attempt to put together from extant evidence a history of the cult of Athena Itonia in Boiotia faces several special challenges.[1] There is a good deal of circumstantial evidence and scholarly argument that the Boiotians imported the cult from Thessaly during their southward migrations to the region named for them, but reliable evidence of the history and chronology of these migrations, the place or places in Thessaly whence the cult may have been brought to Boiotia, and when and under what circumstances it was established at its chief sanctuary in Koroneia is so spare and varied as to yield answers that are in great part conjecture. Part of this challenge of historicity is the role given to the Itonian cult in the formation of the collective identities of the Boiotians as manifest in their *ethnos, poleis*, and *koinon.*[2] Another area of historical inquiry about Athena Itonia deals with other Boiotian cults of Athena and their possible relation or identity with the Itonian cult. Not far from that topic is the matter of other cult deities within the Itonian *temenos* near Koroneia, particularly the enigmatic personas of Iodama and the male deity paired with Athena in the sculptures of Agorakritos of Paros. On the subject of the character of Athena Itonia in Boiotia there is considerable evidence of original and continuous martial attributes, but various arguments for a chthonic element in the goddess of Koroneia are fraught with controversy. Finally to be addressed here is the broad subject of the role of the Itonian shrine near Koroneia as a venue for various activities of individuals, gentilitial groups and of corporate political entities such as Boiotia's *poleis* and its *koinon*. Not the least of these activities was the major Boiotian festival of Athena Itonia, the Pamboiotia.

1 For general coverage of the cult of Athena Itonia in Boiotia, see Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1 pp. 117–127; Larson 2007, passim; Mackil 2013, pp. 157–163.

2 The current *locus classicus* is Stephanie Larson's (2007) monograph on Boiotian collective identity in the Archaic and early Classical periods. For useful models of ethnicity as multtiered and flexible processes, see the discussions of McInerney 2001b; McInerney 2001a (early Greece); Morgan 2001b (Greece, ca. 1200–480 BC); Morgan 2003, pp. 1, 8, 12, 196, 206–213; see also Beck 2014; Mackil 2014; Müller 2014 (LateHellenistic period); Kowalzig 2007, pp. 330, 352–391, 397; Kühr 2006; Hall 2002, pp. 9–22, 189; 1997, pp. 17–33.

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2 Source, Chronology, and Circumstances of the Establishment of the Itonian Cult in Boiotia

By the late sixth century BC, Athena Itonia was well established in a major cult of the Boiotians at a sanctuary near the city of Koroneia (see Map 3).[3] As in the other chapters of this book, a logical beginning to a study of local cult is to attempt some reasonable, if necessarily speculative, response to the following questions: Whence, when, and under what circumstances did the cult reach the place where trustworthy extant evidence makes its existence apparent? Ancient literature, archaeological evidence, and arguments of a number of scholars have made the case that the worship of Athena Itonia originated in Thessaly, but as this case cannot be made beyond any doubt, as noted above in Chapter One, some recent scholarship has chosen to leave the question of origin as a *non liquet* or, because the cult was eminent in both Thessaly and Boiotia, to designate the place of origin broadly as Central Greece.[4] Though the cult's likely prior importance in Thessaly and the proximity of that region to Boiotia do not prove the ancient tradition subscribed to by modern scholars that the worship of Athena Itonia came with the Boiotians during their southward migration from Thessaly,[5] these factors are basic circumstantial evidence in that direction. At least suggesting the precedence if not the precise place of departure of the Boiotian cult in Thessaly is the fact that the prehistoric antiquity and wealth of the Itonian sanctuary unearthed near the modern village of Philia near modern Thessalian Karditsa have to this date no parallels in Boiotian archaeology. Also unparalleled in Boiotia are most of the Thessalian entities cognate with Athena's byname: a town Iton or Itonos, the month of Itonios,[6] and the festival of the Itonia, all indicative of the wide and deep roots of the cult in Thessaly, thus the likely source of its propagation to Boiotia. The Boiotian dialect also supports the tradition of a Thessalian origin of the Boiotian *ethnos* and its Itonian cult, showing that the Boiotians must have resided in Thessaly for a lengthy time in order for their original

3 The remains of ancient Koroneia lie about 4 km northwest of the modern town of the same name (formerly Kutumula); *IACP*, pp. 444–445, no. 210, s.v. Koroneia; Fossey 1988, pp. 324–330.

4 See above, Chapter One, pp. 9–10 and footnote 4.

5 For the traditional view that Thessaly was the source of the cult in Boiotia, see, e.g., Strabo 9.5.14 (435); Larsen 1968, pp. 27–28; Nilsson *GGR*² I, p, 434.

6 See *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2376 s.v. Itonios (Ἰτώνιος) (H. Bischoff), for Theodor Bergk's (1845, p. 10) doubtful restoration of a month Itonios instead of Pamboiotios in a Boiotian manumission list (*IG* VII 3321, line 1).

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West-Northwest dialect to take on major Aiolic elements,[7] and for the Itonian cult to be adopted, probably from the indigenous Aiolic Thessalians, and to become embedded in the religion of the Boiotian people before their southward migrations.[8] Similarly the cumulative migration of Boiotians southward from Thessaly must have been very large for their mixed dialect to subsume the speech of the indigenous inhabitants of the southern region.[9] Leaving aside for the moment the questions of the timing and duration of that migration, we are left with the likelihood that at some time during these treks the Boiotian immigrants brought with them the cult of Athena Itonia. Scholarship on this question must deal not only with the evidence of archaeology, dialect and cult but also with mythical and historic traditions of uncertain origin and mixed chronology. Simonides of Keos perhaps indicates an early linking of the Thessalian and Boiotian nations and their shared devotion to Athena Itonia in his testimony that a Thessalian eponymous hero-king Ἴτωνος was the father of Itonia

7 See C.D. Buck 1965, pp. 4–5, on West Greek elements from Epeiros in the Boiotian dialect. R.J. Buck (1968; 1979, p. 76) noted that linguistic and archaeological evidence would indicate that the *Boiotoi* resided in Thessaly for several centuries before their migration to Boiotia. Recently Guy Vottéro (2006) and Holt N. Parker (2008, p. 455) have questioned the traditional view of the formation of the Boiotian dialect (C.D. Buck, *loc. cit.*), especially as regards its Aiolic elements.

8 See above, Chapter One, pp. 43–44, and Theocharis 1964, p. 249 n. 13, for the opinion that the Boiotians before the invasion of the *Thessaloi* got the cult of Itonia from the Aiolians of the region around Arne. See Larson 2007, pp. 122–123, for the evidence that the Boiotians as late as the Archaic and early Classical periods deliberately retained elements shared with the Thessalian dialect to emphasize a tradition of their Aiolid heritage and their ethnic descent from an eponymous hero Boiotos.

9 Albert Schachter (2016a, pp. 3–4), from the evidence of archaeology, dialect, and cult, rejected the belief that the Bronze-Age population of Boiotia somehow disappeared rather than merged with the invaders and became part of the ethnic *Boiotoi* that emerged from the Dark Age. Whether the dialectal mix of the Boiotians was due in part to a southward migration of pure Aiolians (so Roscher *Lex.* vol. 2.1, 1890–1894, col. 567, lines 40–53, s.v. Itonia [O. Höfer]) seems unknowable from extant evidence. That all the Boiotians did not leave Thessaly or that there was more than a single migration may be at the basis of a tradition that some of them remained behind and became *penestai* of their Thessalian conquerors (Archemachus *FGrH* 424 F 1; Ath. 6.264a–b). For the identity and fate of the earlier inhabitants of Boiotia, whom the invading *Boiotoi* had to defeat and incorporate, see Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 119.3; R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 78–80. Since the Boiotians had no distinctive sub-class like the Thessalian *penestai* or the Spartan helots, they must eventually have granted more than servile status to the indigenous people. There is no clear evidence of the early political organization of the immigrant Boiotians. If they were ruled by monarchs in the dark ages, by the time we have reliable evidence of their politics, monarchy had given way to other forms of local government, especially oligarchies. See the still important article of J.A.O. Larsen (1955) on the Athenian use of the term "oligarchy" for a form of government in which voting rights were extended only to those of the hoplite class.

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and her sister Iodama,[10] for the latter figure is associated mainly with the cult of Athena at her sanctuary near Boiotian Koroneia.[11] Pausanias' furtherance of this connection with the myth that Itonos is by the nymph Melanippe the father of Βοιωτός, the eponymous hero of the Boiotian people,[12] is a departure from the much earlier poetic connections of Thessaly and Boiotia that make Boiotos the son of Poseidon by a Thessalian female, Melanippe or Arne, both descendants of Aiolos.[13] In sum, the historical and mythical traditions of the

10 *Etym. Magn.* p. 479; Tzetz. *ad Lyc.* 355 (Simonides of Keos, *FGrH* 8 F 1: … φησὶ δὲ ὁ γενεαλόγος Σιμωνίδης Ἰτώνου θυγατέρας γενέσθαι δύο, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἰοδάμαν). For Iodama, see below, pp. 132–137. Much later than Simonides, Pausanias (9.34.1) names with a variant spelling Thessalian Itonios the son of Amphictyon as the eponym of the Boiotian Itoneion at Koroneia: τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστι τὸ ἱερόν· καλεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰτωνίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος. The preposition ἀπό in Pausanias and in the *Scholia in Ap. Rhod.* 1.721–722 (Ἰτωνίδος: ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ θεὰ Ἰτωνὶς τιμᾶται καὶ ἐν Κορωνείᾳ [πόλις] τῆς Βοιωτίας, απὸ Ἰτώνου τοῦ ἥρωος) has generated some disagreement about the legendary significance of Itonos in the Boiotian cult. Ludwig Preller and Carl Robert (1894, vol. 1, p. 214 n. 3), Georg Weicker (*RE* IX, 1916, cols. 2376–2377, s.v. Itonos [Ἴτωνος]) and Nikolaos Papahatzis (1994–1995, vol. 5, p. 218 n. 2) interpreted Pausanias or the scholiast as meaning that Itonos was the founder (gegründet haben soll; ἱδρυτής) of the Koroneian shrine, but the passages seem to convey only the notion that the cult shrine of Boiotian Itonia is named after Itonos as her father or ancestor.

11 For etymologies, nomenclature, and mythic genealogies pertaining to Itonia and the Thessalian hero-king Itonos, see above, Chapter One, pp. 16–19. The mythical traditions of the Boiotians about Itonos and his genealogy show that they are borrowing from the preeminent reputation of Itonia and her cult in Thessaly and making it part of their own tradition in the process. The inconsistencies and contradictions of these traditions show that they are not part of a single canon, but rather that they accumulate passim in various times and places.

12 Paus. 9.1.1: Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἔθνος ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν, ὃν Ἰτώνου παῖδα καὶ νύμφης δὴ Μελανίππης, Ἴτωνον δὲ Ἀμφικτύονος εἶναι λέγουσι. Pausanias, by making Boiotos the descendant of the Thessalians, Itonos and Amphictyon, implies that the Boiotians were called *Boiotoi* before their migration from Thessaly, or earlier from Epeiros. The latter implication is corroborated if there is truth in the proposition that Boiotian took their ethnic name from Mt. Boion in their original Epeirote home; for this controversial proposition, see above, Chapter One, p. 37 and footnote 116.

13 The tradition of Boiotos as the son of Poseidon is found earliest in the Boiotian poet Korinna (Page 1953, p. 32, fr. 6; see Larson 2007, pp. 19–20, for a thorough discussion with bibliography of the question of the date of Korinna and a reasoned acceptance of the traditional assessment of the poet as a contemporary of Pindar in the early- to mid-fifth century. Also on Poseidon as the father of Boiotos, see Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 51 (Schol. *Il.* 2.494), where the mother is Arne, this woman another Thessalian connection as the eponym of the town from which the Boiotians emigrated according to one tradition, and Eur. *Melanippe Sophe*, where Melanippe is the mother of Boiotos (see Webster 1967, pp. 147–157). See also Larson's (2007, pp. 17–30) larger discussion of the geneaology of the hero Boiotos, including the testimony from a century earlier than Korinna of a less direct link of Boiotos and Poseidon, whereby Boiotos is the father of Onchestos, founder of the

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relationship of Thessaly and Boiotia, regardless of their inconsistency, tend to corroborate the general thesis that the Boiotian *ethnos* and its Itonian cult came from Thessaly. A deeper investigation of the evidence, however, finds that specific and reliable details of the chronology, circumstance, and point of origin of the Boiotian migrations and their transmission of the worship of Athena Itonia to Koroneia are not easily had.[14]

The earliest secure *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of Athena Itonia's cult and sanctuary near Boiotian Koroneia is derived from the lyric poets of the Archaic and early Classical ages. A fragment of Alkaios of Lesbos referring to "Athena, warrior goddess" and her temple near Koroneia by the banks of the Koralios River attests to a cult sanctuary whose Panhellenic fame is already well established in the late-seventh or early-sixth century.[15] Pindar in his fragmentary ode composed and performed around 445–440 BC[16] for the celebration of the Daphnephoria, a ritual procession in honor of Apollo Ismenios in his sanctuary at Thebes, alludes to the past and present equestrian victories of the Theban Agasikles and his noble family by the temple of Itonia

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Boiotian shrine of Poseidon Onchestios (Hes. *Ehoiai*, fr. 219, [Merkelbach and West 1967]; Steph. Byz. p. 483.3 [Meineke 1849] s.v. *Ὀγχηστός*). The facile variation over time of such traditions of eponymous heroes and genealogies can be seen by comparing Pausanias' (9.1.1) Itonos, father of Boiotos, with earlier testimony (Diod. Sic. 4.67.7) that Boiotos, the son of Poseidon and Arne, is the father of Itonos, for which relationship, see Larson 2007, pp. 24–25. See also R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 45–72, on the mythical and late historical traditions about early Boiotia, which in their many and varied forms tell us about later Boiotian conjoining of their ethnic and religious identity but cast little historical light on the Boiotian cult of Athena Itonia in the prehistoric period.

14 See Larson 2007, pp. 31–66, for a diachronic treatment of the tradition of Boiotian migration and habitation and the relation of that tradition to the development of collective identity in Boiotia. On the same subject, see Schachter 2016a, pp. 3–21. On the difficulty of judging the historicity of such traditions of migration in the propagation and ritual of cults, see Kowalzig 2007, pp. 328–329: "What truth lies behind the memories of the fitful progress of these four populations [Thessalians, Boiotians, 'Thracians,' 'Pelasgians'] is unclear but not uninteresting … whether genuine memories survive through these cults, or whether what is preserved is a nest of interconnected stories turned real through incessantly reiterated performance in cult."

15 Alc. (quoted in Strabo 9.2.29 [411]), Voigt 1971, pp. 305–306, fr. 325: ὦ ’νασσ’ Ἀθανάα πολε[μάδοκε] / ἄ ποι Κορωνήας μεϑ[… / ναύω πάροιθεν ἀμφι[ca. 6] / Κωραλίω ποτάμω παρ’ ὄχθαις; cf. Lobel-Page, p. 264, fr. 325. The fragment is dated as possibly near the end of seventh century but more likely in the first half of the sixth. The mention of a temple and the familiarity of the cult to a poet of Lesbos prove the contemporary celebrity of the shrine. Emily Mackil (2013, p. 159) inferred, nevertheless, from Alkaios' mention of Athena as "ruling over Koroneia" that her Panboiotian status was yet to come, i.e., in the mid-fifth century.

16 For this late date in Pindar's career, see Mackil 2013, p. 160 and n. 54.

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near Koroneia.[17] In the same short fragment, Pindar's mention of Onchestos, the seat of Poseidon Onchestios, amplifies the point that by this time disparate Boiotian *poleis* were linked by shared worship in one another's cult shrines, and the glorification of the Boiotian festival games is magnified by their link with the great games of Olympian Zeus at Pisa. Bacchylides of Keos also celebrates the cult near Koroneia in his verse about "Itonia of the golden aegis."[18] We can conclude then from the fragment of Alkaios that the Koroneian sanctuary and cult of Athena Itonia, warrior goddess, were widely known by the early- to mid-sixth century BC, and from the fragment of Pindar that for some indefinite time before the middle of the fifth century the Itonian cult had a festival and games that attracted participants from Thebes and probably other *poleis* in the Boiotian community.[19] With this fragmentary evidence it is not certain what form and extent of unified Boiotian organization, if any, underlay the cult and festival of Athena Itonia in the Archaic age or earlier. The possibility of an Archaic Boiotian collective identity manifesting itself as a regional amphictyony devoted to the Itonian cult and shrine has been suggested.[20]

17 Pind. *Parth.* 11, fr. 94 b, lines 41–49: τί/μαθεν γὰρ τὰ πάλαι τὰ νῦν / τ'ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν / ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων πο̣λ[υ/γνώτοις ἐπὶ νίκαις / αἷς ἐν ἀϊόνεσσιν Ὀγχη[στοῦ κλυ]τᾶς / ταῖς δὲ ναὸν Ἰτωνίας ᾰ̣[μφ'εὐκλε]ᾶ̣ / χαίταν στεφάνοις ἐκό/σμηθεν, ἔν τε Πίσᾳ/... (ed. H. Maehler 1989). Pindar's ναὸν Ἰτωνίας is undoubtedly the temple near Koroneia (Race 1997, p. 327 n. 2) and τὰ πάλαι shows that Athena's games there were already a long-established tradition in Pindar's time; I thank my colleague Monessa Cummins for her wise counsel on this fragment of Pindar; see also Rutherford 2001, p. 197 and n. 29. For an extensive study of the Daphnephoria of Thebes, with particular attention to Pindar, see Schachter 2016a, Ch. 17, pp. 255–278. Pindar may also allude to the games at the sanctuaries of Poseidon at Onchestos and Athena Itonia at Koroneia when he refers elsewhere to the "traditional contests of the Boiotians" (ἀγῶνές τ'ἔννομοι Βοιωτίων [*Ol.* 7.84]); see Schlachter 2016a, p. 61 and nn. 39–40.

18 Bacchyl. *Carmina*, fr. 15: Οὐχ ἕδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς / ἀλλὰ χρυσαίγιδος Ἰτωνίας / χρὴ παρ' εὐδαίδαλον ναὸν ἐλ/θόντας ἁβρόν τι δεῖξαι (H. Snell and Maehler 1970, p. 90). Jean Irigoin (1993, p. 228) noted that Bacchylides' hymn probably accompanied the procession at Itonia's festival at Koroneia. Barbara Kowalzig (2007, p. 363) and Emily Mackil (2013, pp. 159–160) thought that the fragment was from a religious song composed for ritual performance in honor of Itonia as a Boiotian war goddess and that the missing end of the last line of the fragment may have referred to a song and dance. For the Panboiotian festival of Athena Itonia see below, pp. 151–165.

19 Korinna also may have had in mind the Athena Itonia of her native Boiotia when she wrote the phrase θοῦριν Ἀθηναίας ἀσπίδα (*PMG* 667). Since Iodama, the mythic sister of Itonia, is associated with the sanctuary near Koroneia, another probable late Archaic allusion to the cult there is the fragment of Simonides of Keos (*FGrH* 8 F 1) quoted above, footnote 10.

20 See Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 123, 126. Such a regional religious union may have been part of the "relatively dense and dynamic network of interaction," including the celebration of cults and the transregional importance of the Itoneion, that Hans Beck (2014, pp. 24, 27–33) inferred from scattered evidence among cities around Lake Kopais in the

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Even allowing for an early amphictyony around Athena's cult near Koroneia, at what prior time and from where the cult was first introduced to Boiotia are harder questions. Though the geographer Strabo is a late source for the traditions of chronology and point of origin, his specific but contradictory testimonia make a good starting point for discussion of these issues. While Strabo is clearly aware of the poetic benchmarks of Boiotian Itonia in the sixth century BC—his text preserves for us the fragment of Alkaios cited above—he advances a tradition of the propagation of her cult to Boiotia at a much earlier time, when he claims that the Boiotians came from Thessalian Arne after the Trojan War, took control of the city of Koroneia, and established the sanctuary of Athena Itonia in the plain in front of that city, naming the shrine and the adjacent river Kouarios after their Thessalian antecedents.[21] The history of scholarly opinion about the credibility of Strabo on these points has been mixed.[22] It is likely that the Geographer or his sources, being aware of a tradition about the Itonian cult in Thessaliotis and the fact of the sanctuary near Boiotian Koroneia, chose a date for the transmission of the cult by simply conflating those perceptions with the particular and convenient logographic tradition reported by Thucydides, that in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy the Boiotians were driven out of Arne by the Thessalians and settled in Boiotia, giving their name to the region that was formerly call the Kadmeian land.[23] It

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second half of the sixth century. According to Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 123), the earliest firm evidence of the Itonian sanctuary as a federal center comes from the provision in a Hellenistic treaty (*IG* IX 1^2 170, fr. a, lines 5–6 [late-fourth to early-third c. BC]) that a copy be published in the federal shrine near Koroneia.

21 Strabo, 9.2.29 (411): ἡ μὲν οὖν Κορώνεια ἐγγὺς τοῦ Ἑλικῶνός ἐστιν ἐφ' ὕψους ἱδρυμένη, κατελάβοντο δ' αὐτὴν ἐπανιόντες ἐκ τῆς Θετταλικῆς Ἄρνης οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά. ὅτε περ καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἔσχον· κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὁμοφώνως τῷ ἐκεῖ. Ἀλκαῖος δὲ καλεῖ Κωράλιον λέγων. For an analysis of the saga of Boiotian migrations, see Allen [1921] 2005, pp. 42–44. For the vexed matter of the rivers Kouarios, Kouralios, and Koralios (Alkaios), see the extensive treatment in Chapter One, above, pp. 79–81 and footnotes 294–300.

22 Paul Foucart (1880a, p. 15 n. 1) affirmed Strabo's testimony without question; see also above, Chapter One, p. 70 and footnotes 254–256, for Demetrios Theocharis' view (1964, pp. 248–249) that the Itonian sanctuary excavated near Philia in the neighborhood of ancient Arne was the principal Itonian shrine of the Thessalians from early time and the place from which the cult was propagated to Boiotian Koroneia; see also Sakellariou 1990, p. 183, 187–189. Cf., however, Moustaka 1983, p. 24; Burrer 1993, p. 50 n. 150: "Ob die Einführung des Kultes aus Thessalischen wirklich mit der Vertreibung der Einwohner von Arne nach Boiotien (Strab. 9.2.29 [411]) in Verbindung gebracht werden kann.... ist kaum zu beantworten."

23 Thuc. 1.12.3: Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἑξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν.

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has been inferred from these sources that the Boiotian tradition linking the founding of the cult of Athena Itonia at Koroneia with the migration from Thessaly after the Trojan War can be dated perhaps to the late 6th century and at least as early as the fifth century, perhaps at the time the when the Boiotian *koinon* was formed and Armenidas' *Thebaïka* presented a mythic genealogy of the Thessalian hero Itonos, son of Amphiktyon, as the eponym of Athena Itonia and father of the Boiotian hero Boiotos. This is probably a tradition that long precedes Strabo in linking the logographic tradition of migration that survives in Thucydides with the founding of the Itoneion near Koroneia.[24] Regardless of whether Thucydides' testimony was rooted in history or was itself the result of Boiotian mythology of ethnic identity, questions still remain about Strabo's synchronism of a Boiotian trek from Arne with the Itonian foundation near Koroneia. Thucydides and his logographic sources,[25] most likely and directly Hellanikos of Mytilene, drew their conclusions about prehistory partly from comparison of dialects and observation of Mycenaean monuments still visible on the landscape, but they also had to apply their powers of discretion to the less scientific traditions of oral poetry. Those traditions often mythologized migrations of peoples in terms of swift retributive military campaigns such as the Dorian migrations as "the return of the Herakleidai," but it is well known that oral transmission often does not yield reliable history, especially in the matter of chronology.[26] Furthermore, the exactness of the logographic dating, regardless of its historicity, allows no precise equivalent in absolute chronology, as modern inference from archaeology and comparative ancient datings yields estimates of Thucydides' "sixtieth year after the fall of Troy" within a period as broad as the early-12th to the mid-11th century BC.[27]

Although elements of West and Northwest Greek in the dialect of the Boiotians indicate that they came originally came to Thessaly from the region of Epeiros, and despite Thucydides' detail that they were later driven

24 Larson 2007, pp. 52–66; Mackil 2013, p. 158. Armenidas *FGrH* 378 F 1 (Jacoby dates Armenidas before 400 BC); see also Page 1953, p. 32, fr. 7; cf. Alexander Polyh. *FGrH* 273 F 97.

25 See, e.g., Jacoby on Ephoros, *FGrH* 70 F 223.

26 On the low degree of historical reliability in oral tradition, see R.J. Buck 1979, p. 170; Sancisi- Weerdenburg 2000b, p. 100.

27 See Hornblower, *CT* 1.12.3, and Gomme, *HCT* 1.12.3, for summaries of various calculations of Thucydides' chronological reference. See also R.J. Buck 1979, p. 64 for a summary of estimates from the excavation of Troy of the dating of the war as remembered in Greek legend, including Buck's preference for Blegen's choice of Troy VIIa in LH III B, i.e., ca. 1300–1200 BC. Admittedly there is much more recent debate about the levels of destruction at Troy and their causes, but the precision of those issues is not crucial to the present study.

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southward from Arne by the Thessalians, Strabo presents the latter movement not as a defensive flight but a triumphant invasion in which the Boiotians avenge themselves on Thracians and Pelasgians who had once driven them north to Thessaly from their ancestral homeland,[28] and, after a veritable *blitzkrieg* that ends at Koroneia, they establish there the cult sanctuary of Athena Itonia as the martial goddess who had accompanied them.[29] Probably an embellishment of Strabo's account is the detail of the Macedonian rhetorician Polyaenus that the Boiotians were celebrating their victory over the Thracians and sacrificing to Athena Itonia when the Thracians attacked them in violation of a truce.[30] Although some scholars of the 19th and early-20th centuries tended with less archaeological evidence at their disposal to take literally the ancient traditions that presented the migrations of Greek peoples as dramatic tales of warfare featuring massive short-term invasions and flights of refugees, this is now usually seen to be a reductionist interpretation of events that varied widely in cause, time, and duration. The linguistically homogeneous Boiotia that emerges in the historical period is very likely the result of periodic

28 Consistent with the erroneous tradition in Strabo that the Boiotians were rightfully repossessing their original country are the spurious genealogical links of the invading royalty with predecessors such as the indigenous Kadmeians; see R.J. Buck 1979, p. 171.

29 See Strabo 9.2.29 (411) (above p. 93 and footnote 21) in addition to Strabo 9.2.3 (401): ὡς δ' αὖτως ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐν Θετταλίᾳ συνεστήσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν μετὰ Ἀρναίων ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, ὥστε καὶ Βοιωτοὺς κληθῆναι πάντας. εἶτ' ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἤδη τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ στόλου παρεσκευασμένου περὶ Αὐλίδα τῆς Βοιωτίας, ὃν ἔστελλον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ Ὀρέστου παῖδες. προσθέντες δὲ τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ τὴν Ὀρχομενίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν κοινῇ πρότερον, οὐδ' Ὅμηρος μετὰ Βοιωτῶν αὐτοὺς κατέλεξεν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ, Μινύας προσαγορεύσας) μετ' ἐκείνων ἐξέβαλον τοὺς μὲν Πελασγοὺς εἰς Ἀθήνας, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκλήθη μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως Πελασγικόν (ᾤκησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμηττῷ), τοὺς δὲ Θρᾷκας ἐπὶ τὸν Παρνασσόν. Ὕαντες δὲ τῆς Φωκίδος Ὕαν πόλιν ᾤκισαν. Strabo's noting that the Boiotians took Orchomenos before getting control of Koroneia (9.2.29 [411] ὅτε περ καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἔσχον· κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας) probably implies a prerequisite subordination of the indigenous Minyans. In the two centuries after Strabo, Plutarch (*Cim.* 1.1) relates that the immigrant Boiotians, led by King Opheltas, first captured and occupied Chaironeia, the city that Pausanias (9.40.5) writes was earlier called Arne, another supposed homonym from the Boiotian settlement in Thessaly. On the subject of Boiotian Arne, including the probabilities that it has not been discovered and that Pausanias represents a tradition by which the Chaironeians gain a place in the heroic past by identifying with the Arne of Homer's Catalogue, see Larson 2007, pp. 40–41; see also Hornblower, *CT*, 1.12.3. For Orchomenos (*IACP*, pp. 446–448, no. 213) and Chaironeia (*IACP*, pp. 439–440, no. 201) as logical points in the early stages of a Boiotian conquest, see Larsen 1968, p. 29 n. 1, with references to Hdt. 8.34 and Thuc. 4.76.3, and the parallel of the Persian route from Phokis to Boiotia in 480 BC.

30 Polyaenus (late-second c. AD), *Strat.* 7.43. According to Zenobios (4.37) the Thracian claim that attacking at night did not violate an agreement to retreat by day gave rise to a proverbial expression, Θρᾳκία παρεύρεσις, "Thracian pretense."

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immigration from Thessaly over a lengthy span of time.[31] Thus several waves of Boiotian migrants, all of uncertain dates before the early-sixth century BC, are the more probable truth behind Strabo's tale of a single early dark-age campaign of conquest from Orchomenos to Koroneia and the foundation of the Itonian sanctuary, a tradition that may have stemmed in part from the fourth-century historian Ephoros of Kyme[32] and one that a number of more recent scholars have suggested was part of an elaborate legitimizing of the formation and collective identity of the new Boiotian *ethnos*.[33]

There are further indications that Strabo's linking of the transmission of the Itonian cult to the migration of Boiotians from Arne after the Trojan War is less than a firm chronicle of events. Since the worship of Athena Itonia was so important to the Boiotians, it is plausible that the first immigrants from Thessaly brought her cult with them. Whatever the historicity of Thucydides note of the flight from Arne in the "sixtieth year after the fall of Troy," he does not claim that this was the first southward movement of Boiotians, but, in fact, with a clear eye to the Boiotian contingents in Homer's *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.494–516), he adds parenthetically that there was an earlier ἀποδασμός of Boiotians, some of whom were among the Achaians at Troy.[34] Modern archaeology tends

31 Note Larsen's (1968, p. 28) remark that "the conquest apparently was slow, and that may be the reason the first Boeotian religious rallying point [the Itonian sanctuary near Koroneia] lay in western Boeotia." See also Schachter's (2016a, pp. 27–28) inference from a surge of inhabitants during the Archaic period in a previously sparsely populated and politically disorganized Boiotia that availability of land as much as pressure from Thessaly was a motive force in the migration of the *Boiotoi*. This proposition also fits the hypothesis of a serial migration that peaked in the Archaic period. See the archaeological and topographical evidence of John M. Fossey's (1988) survey of the immigration, settlement, and population of Boiotia from the Mycenaean to Archaic periods (pp. 424–437) and from Classical to Late Roman times (pp. 437–453).

32 Strabo (9.2.4 [401]) cites Ephoros as the source of part of his account of the conflict of the invading Boiotians with the Thracians and Pelasgians; see *FGrH* 70 F 119.

33 For Strabo's account of the invasion of the Boiotians as a mythic crusade to rationalize the settlement of Boiotia and the enshrinement of its chief cult goddess near Koroneia, see also Kowalzig 2007, p. 362; Ducat 1973, pp. 60–61; *RE* XVIII.3, 1949, cols. 288–289, s.v. Pamboiotia (L. Ziehen). Even though we cannot sift from tradition and saga the chronology and number of migrations that brought the Boiotians south from Thessaly, there nevertheless must have been such migrations, and thus we should avoid the fashion of referring to them as unqualified "myth." See Graninger 2011, pp. 48–50, for his observation that this tradition of the invasion of Boiotia and the founding of the Itoneion near Koroneia has a parallel in the tradition of conquest by the *Thessaloi* of the Aiolic *penestai* and *perioikoi* and the stabilizing of the Itonian cult in Thessaliotis and throughout Thessaly.

34 Thuc. 1.12.3: (ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν). I concur with the opinions of Stephanie Larson (2007, pp. 58, 60–61) that Thucydides "could not have omitted reference to the *Catalogue*: its hold was too strong

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to corroborate the thesis that the linguistic and demographic mix evident in the settled history of Boiotia stems from a continuity that goes back as early as the Mycenaean period of the Bronze Age.[35] Stephanie Larson has shown that the text of the *Catalogue* and related passages in the *Iliad* are rich sources of evidence for the collective identity of the Boiotians by the late Archaic period,[36] but, as end products of various oral traditions, these texts give us no clear or comprehensive chronology of the Boiotian migrations.[37] Even if most Boiotian migrations took place after the traditional period of the Trojan War, a creative anachronism in the *Catalogue* would have brought it into line with the later settled cities of the Boiotians and given them a share in the heroism of the epic tradition.[38] Strabo, who invests much attention and apparent faith

in the tradition and thus also in the minds of his audience," and that this reference is not incompatible with his statement on the migration of Boiotians after the Trojan War. While Thucydides' nod to the *Iliad* offers a separate tradition of Boiotian linkage to epic heroism, it does not contradict his note of the migration from Arne, for the Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν is likely an inclusive rather than exclusive term; i.e., it implies not a different past name for the same people but refers to the totality of Boiotian residents of Thucydides' own time, including the portion (ἀποδασμός) of them who are said to have come south earlier and taken part in the Trojan War. In other words, I take Βοιωτοί rather than the implied inhabitants of Καδμηίδα γῆν to be the antecedent of αὐτῶν in Thucydides' phrase, ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ. On this point of pre- and post-war migrations, see also Schachter 2016a, p. 31,

35 See, for example, Vermeule 1964, pp. 189–190, 224, 270, and Schachter 2016a, pp. 27–30, for evidence from the Mycenaean palace of Thebes and its use of the Linear B script that the Bronze-Age Thebans, despite trade and immigration from the Aegean and Asia Minor, were purely Greek and that they were continuous inhabitants of the site through its destruction and the ensuing Dark Age. For such continuity throughout Boiotia, see also R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 37–42; *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 237, s.v. Boeotia and the Boeotian Confederacy (J. Buckler and A. Spawforth).

36 Larson 2007, pp. 32–50.

37 See also Schachter 2016a, pp. 11–13, 31, for the light that Homer's *Catalogue of Ships* sheds on early Boiotian settlement and unity.

38 See R.J. Buck (1979) who recounted (pp. 64–65) Mycenaean elements in the Catalogue of the Boiotians, but, with reference to Page 1959, p. 152, he noted (p. 65 and n. 77) the possibility that any inconsistencies between the Thucydidean and Homeric texts "may mean no more than that the Catalogue took final form after the immigration of the Boeotians." Buck considered (pp. 66, 76) that the mention of Boiotians in the *Little Catalogue* (*Il.* 13.699) may be part of an earlier tradition in which the Boiotians were still resident in Thessaly, and, that being the case, "the Great Catalogue of Book 2 with its Boeotians in Boeotia should be a modification of Mycenaean traditions made in post-Mycenaean times to conform to post- Mycenaean realities," and that "the *ἀποδασμός* of Thucydides (1.12) is the product of still later attempts to square the *Catalogue* with common traditions." Larsen (1968, p. 27 n. 2), however, noted that such a supposition about Thucydides is unecessary, since the Boiotians as speakers of Aiolic were certainly in Greece during Mycenaean times, and that participation in the Trojan War, if historical, does not necessarily imply a

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in the *Catalogue*, might logically, like Thucydides, have considered the possibility that some Boiotians settled Boiotia before the Trojan War. Such logic, however, would have been inconsistent with his adoption of a tradition of the migration as a single mission of reconquest that established the Boiotian *ethnos* and the cult sanctuary of Athena Itonia, its chief tutelary goddess. For the same reason, and because Strabo drew from Thucydides a specific occasion for the transmission of the Itonian cult, he would not likely have conceived of a longer and periodic settlement of Boiotia. The logographic tradition that surfaces in Thucydides, while chronologically arbitrary in a scheme of migration in multiple stages, offered to Strabo or his sources a starting point in Arne and a time for the propagation of the cult that fitted his apparent awareness of the worship of Athena Itonia in Thessaliotis and his certain knowledge of her cult in Boiotian Koroneia.

On the matter of chronology, it is clear that with the current state of the evidence there can be no precise or definitive answer to the question of when the cult of Athena Itonia came to Boiotia. Since the cult and sanctuary near Koroneia were already famous in lyric poetry of the late Archaic period, it is clear that Athena Itonia was established there at some earlier time. It is also likely, even if not certain, that this was during some stage of the southward Boiotian *Völkerwanderung*, an event that may have lasted from late Mycenaean time to early in the Archaic period. The simple worship of Athena Itonia may have come with any of the supposed waves of Boiotian immigrants that reached as far as Koroneia, and an early religious union may have taken the form of a regional amphictyony, but it is probable that the establishment of a truly Panboiotian Itonian cult, sanctuary, and festival came only with the

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presence in Boiotia. Larsen believed (*loc. cit.*) that the Boiotians had their ethnic name, Βοιωτόι (Hom. *Il.* 2.494; Ducat 1971, no. 257) or Βοιώτιοι (Hom. *Il.* 14.476; *CID* II 31.93 [fourth c. BC]), before the southward migration, but this is less than certain (cf. Chapter One, p. 37, and footnote 116, on the uncertain etymology and chronology of the ethnic name *Boiotoi*), and therefore it is also uncertain whether the immigrant Boiotians who founded the sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia had any Panboiotian sense that might have been imparted to her cult. See Larson 2007, pp. 129–163, for the common ethnic names Βοιωτός/Βοιωτοί and adjectives Βοιώτιος/Βοιώτιοι as evidence in the question of collective identity of the Boiotians only as early as the Archaic and early Classical periods. Larsen (1968, p. 27 n. 2) noted that, though the distribution of the Greeks in the *Iliad* is mainly pre-Doric and the *Catalogue* is on the whole Mycenaean, it appears that the Boiotia of the *Catalogue* is reported as it was after the Doric migration. The *Catalogue* could have been modified in the oral tradition at any time after that and therefore represented a view of Boiotia when that tradition acquired stability as a written composition, which Gregory Nagy (2004, pp. 1–39), followed by Stephanie Larson (2007, p. 33 and nn. 10–12), would date to the sixth century; see also Schachter 2016a, p. 63.

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complete migration and the eastward conquest of all Boiotia.[39] Evidence of such a chronology may be the fact that the Boiotians eventually named their common Itonian festival the Pamboiotia, a name that implies a degree of organization that may have existed only when the migrations and settlement in regions, villages, and cities were largely done.[40] Pindar's reference to the equestrian victories of Thebans at the games by the Boiotian Itoneion may imply a national cult sanctuary,[41] but the earliest epigraphic evidence of such is said to be the provision in a late-fourth- or early-third-century Delphic inscription that its recorded treaty of the Boiotians, Aitolians, and Phokians is to be set up in the presumably federal Boiotian sanctuaries at Onchestos, Alalkomenai, and Koroneia.[42] We may conclude the question of chronology by emphasizing that while the testimony of the Archaic poets establishes a *terminus ante quem* for Boiotian foundation of the cult of Athena Itonia at Koroneia it does not offer even an approximate indication of the date of that foundation. Scholarship cited in this chapter makes a good circumstantial case that the testimony of Thucydides and Strabo and other literary sources about Boiotian migrations and the establishment of the Itonian cult at Koroneia are in large part associated with the Boiotian quest and establishment of ethnic identity and a pedigree, but that testimony is not necessarily simple mythmaking on

39 See, e.g., R.J. Buck's study (1979, pp. 75–84, esp. p. 81; p. 171) of archaeology, dialects, and literary traditions, from which he conjectured that the majority of the *Boiotoi* migrated from Thessaly in Submycenaean time or the early Dark Ages, that is, about 1150–1100 BC, and through three stages, lasting at least 150 years, completed their east to west conquest of Boiotia ca. 950 BC. In this scenario the first stage comprised the conquest of Chaironeia, Orchomenos, and Koroneia, the site of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia; the second stage, the settlement of Thebes and Thespiai; the final stage, the occupation of most of the Asopos Valley. Cf. García-Ramon 1975, p. 109: "*ca.* 1125: Naissance de la culture submycénienne en Béotie: séparation de proto-béotien et fin de la communauté proto-éolienne." Schachter noted (2016a, p. 7) that "by the end of the Geometric period, settlement in Boiotia began—as it did elsewhere—to take on the shape it held for the rest of antiquity, with the appearance of the polis," but he added (p. 21) that "the Boiotoi did not begin to develop as an ethnos themselves until the Archaic period, after all the various elements in the population had arrived and been absorbed into their communities."

40 When the festival name "Pamboiotia" first came into use is unknown. If an Itonian festival of all the Boiotians preexisted that use, we do not know what it was called. For treatment of the festival of the Pamboiotia see below, pp. 151–165.

41 For Pindar's text, see above, p. 92, and footnote 17. Mackil (2014, p. 52), with reference to the sanctuary of Athena Itonia cites Pindar's fragment as "an important clue about the rituals that were being performed at this sanctuary in the immediate aftermath of the Boeotian victory [over the Athenians under Tolmides near the Itonian shrine in the plain near Koroneia in 447 BC]," adding that "his testimony suggests that the Itonion was now vital to the process of creating a unified and fully politicized Boeotia."

42 *IG* IX 1^2 170; Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 123.

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the part of the Boiotians, nor is it evidence of the chronology of the cult prior to the Archaic period. Boiotian archaeology and dialect lend some credence to the logographic tradition of late Mycenaean and early Dark Age migration from Thessaly, but until there is a definite identification and chronology of the Itonian sanctuary referred to in our sources,[43] and regardless of the Boiotian use of any tradition in their conception and expression of ethnic identity, the tradition that survives in Strabo and links cult foundation with early migration, while not verifiable as to its pre-Archaic dating, cannot be dismissed altogether as myth and ruled out as a historical possibility.[44]

As noted briefly in the first chapter of this book, Strabo's testimonia about the propagation of the Itonian cult from Thessaly to Boiotia are problematical not only chronologically but also with regard to a particular place in Thessaly from which the worship of Athena Itonia may have been transmitted to Boiotia and established at the sacred precinct near Koroneia. Though his texts on Thessaly and Boiotia are at least ambiguous if not contradictory, a point of Strabo's testimony is that the source was a particular place and shrine. Without consideration of the possibility that Strabo's versions are mostly Boiotian mythology, some modern scholars have subscribed to the notion of a single Thessalian source of the Itonian cult at Boiotian Koroneia, and some have presented arguments for places of origin that fit one or the other of the sources noted in the text of Strabo, while others have suggested places of origin that do not closely correspond with the geographical details of either of Strabo's testimonia.[45]

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43 Though excavation at the ancient urban center of Koroneia has yielded remains of the Neolithic, Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods (Fossey 1988, p. 326; *IACP*, p. 445), this evidence is no indication of when the worship of Athena Itonia was brought to Boiotia, for the Itoneion's founding may have differed in time as well as place from that of urban Koroneia, and Theodoros Spyropoulos's candidate for the sanctuary near the acropolis of Koroneia is fairly in doubt (see below, pp. 108–110).

44 Cf. Hans Beck (2014, p. 21 and n. 7 with references) and others for a common current view that we should dissociate the historical *ethnê* from their uncertain forerunners of legend and date initial aggregative tribal self-identity and formation to the Archaic period, "perhaps ca. 700, if not slightly earlier." Beck (p. 23) is right, however, that this 'pinning down' of the earliest explicit evidence of the Boiotians as an ethnic group is only "a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of that group." The tendency to view such dating as a *terminus post quem* for Boiotian collective identity and the common worship of Athena Itonia invites the critical cliché, "absence of evidence is not evidence of absence." Cf. Gartland 2016a, p. 84: "The Bronze Age walls [of Thebes] were real, but the narratives that surrounded them were constructions of the early Iron Age, a product perhaps of the migrating Boiotoi attempting to make sense of the monumental landscape they had inherited."

45 While we cannot easily separate myth and history in the quest for a point of origin in the propagation of the Itonian cult to Boiotian Koroneia, a remark of Kowalzig (2007, p. 390) on this point is noteworthy: "a myth of arrival makes no sense without somewhere to have

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As noted above, Strabo wrote that the cult near Koroneia came with the *Boiotoi* who migrated southward from Arne in the *tetras* of Thessaliotis in southwest Thessaly,[46] but further on in his account he identifies the source of the cult as a town of Itonos and shrine of Itonia by a Kouarios River in the Krokian Plain in the perioikic region of Achaia Phthiotis southeast of Thessaly.[47] In both instances Strabo claims that the Thessalian shrine and adjacent river, the Kouarios, gave their names to their Boiotian counterparts near Koroneia. As noted above in Chapter One, however, this duplicity is not the full extent of the textual problem, as Strabo's notice of the Itonian sanctuary near Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis is followed by the seemingly contradictory phrase, ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Θετταλιώτιδος, suggesting a confusion of this sanctuary with one in the distant southwest of Thessaly.[48]

Without reiterating from the preceding chapter all the complexities and proposed solutions of the problems of Strabo's references to Thessalian sanctuaries of Athena Itonia, I will summarize them briefly here as they relate to the propagation of the cult to the site near Boiotian Koroneia. Through the 19th and much of the 20th centuries Homer's reference to "Iton, Mother of Sheepflocks" and Strabo's reference to a town Itonos and a Kouarios River near a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in the Krokian Plain convinced some topographers and archaeologists that the Itonian cult came to Boiotian Koroneia from Achaia Phthiotis, but in the long run their investigations produced no probative archaeological evidence of the town or sanctuary.[49] Since the 1960s a popular response to Strabo's conundrum has been that his placement of Itonos and its sanctuary in Achaia Phthiotis is a mistake for the Itonian sanctuary discovered at modern Philia in Thessaliotis, which happens to be near ancient Arne, Strabo's other point of departure of the cult from Thessaly to Boiotia. In other words, Iton or Itonos is correctly a name for the sanctuary excavated by

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arrived from. The same can be said of the travelling Athena Itonia, unfortunately so badly documented, who derives her meaningful existence from the fact that she is a foreign goddess."

46 Strabo, 9.2.29 (411) (see the text above, footnote **xx**).

47 Strabo 9.5.14 (435): ὑπέρκεινται δὲ Πυράσου μὲν αἱ Θῆβαι. τῶν Θηβῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὸ Κρόκιον πεδίον πρὸς τῷ καταλήγοντι τῆς Ὄθρυος, δι' οὗ ὁ Ἀμφρυσος ῥεῖ. τούτου δ' ὑπέρκειται ὁ Ἴτωνος, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας ἱερόν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, καὶ ὁ Κουάριος ποταμός.

48 Strabo 9.5.14 (435): εἴρηται δε π[ερὶ τούτου και] τῆς Ἄρνης ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτιακοῖς. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Θετταλιώτιδος μιᾶς τῶν τεττάρων μερίδων τῆς συμπάσης Θετταλίας. See above, Chapter One, pp. 61–62, 66–67, and footnotes 213–216, 236–283, on the relation of this problem to Thessalian sanctuaries of Athena Itonia.

49 See Chapter One, above, pp. 63, 66, for the early scholars who imagined that Strabo's sanctuary in Achaia Phthiotis was the only Thessalian precinct of Itonia and therefore the progenitor of the Boiotian sanctuary near Koroneia; see more recently Moretti 1962, p. 100.

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Demetrios Theocharis or its locale.[50] A variant of this is the proposition that there were places named Itonos in both Achaia Phthiotis and Thessaliotis, or that Strabo's Itonos was a term for the sanctuary of the Thessalians at Philia, while Homeric Iton was the site of another sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Achaia Phthiotis.[51] Theocharis himself, while viewing the site he excavated near Philia as the age-old and chief Thessalian sanctuary of Athena Itonia and the source of the cult's propagation to Boiotian Koroneia, conceded the likelihood of other lesser Itonian sanctuaries in Thessaly, including one at Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis.[52] Somewhat the reverse of the hypothesis that would relocate Itonos from Achaia Phthiotis to the region of Philia and Arne was the proposal of Marta Sordi derived in part from a passage in Pseudo-Hesiod's *Ἀσπίς* where Arne is mentioned among cities in Achaia Phthiotis.[53] Linking this Arne with Friedrich Stählin's opinion that Strabo mistook a Kouralios River near Achaian Itonos for a Kouarios River of Thessaliotis,[54] Sordi saw Strabo's (9.2.29 [411], 33 [412]) erroneous correction of Alkaios' Koralios River near Koroneia as the Geographer's unwitting proof that the Boiotians brought the cult from an Arne located by a Kouralios River in the Krokian Plain near the Gulf of Pagasai.[55] But beyond the text of the *Ἀσπίς* there is no evidence of an Arne in this region of Thessaly. Pseudo-Hesiod's Arne may be a geographical exaggeration suited to the scope of Herakles' in the poem, but more likely the

50 See, e.g., Wallace 1979, p. 115; Lauffer 1989, pp. 284–285, s.v. Iton and Itonion (Hanschmann and Kramolisch); *Neue Pauly* v, 1998, col. 1182–1183, s.v. Iton (H. Kramolisch); Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 1 and n. 9; *Brill's NPAnt*, vol. 6, 2005, col. 1027, s.v. Iton (Ἴτων, Ἴτωνος) (Kramolisch); Radt (vol. vii, 2008) on Strabo 435C.33 (9.5.14).

51 See Helly 2001, p. 243, and nn. 15–16; Helly and Decourt 2004, p. 626, no. 211; Tziafalias and Helly 2004–2005, pp. 396–397 and nn. 20 (with credit to Knoepfler) and 25.

52 Theocharis 1964, p. 249 and nn. 14–15.

53 [Hes.] *Scutum* 380–381: πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις κλειτή τ' Ἰαωλκὸς / Ἄρνη τ' ἠδ' Ἑλίκη Ἄνθεια τε ποιήεσσα.

54 Stählin 1924, p. 170 and n. 6.

55 Sordi 1958, pp. 6–7. Strabo 9.2.29 [411], 33 [412], on Alkaios' Koralios River. Since the Boiotians, according to legend, were driven south by the *Thessaloi*, Sordi's hypothesis that the *Thessaloi* invaded from the Doric islands of the Aegean and landed at Pagasai (1958, pp. 10–11; cf. Larsen 1960a, pp. 229–230) would fit with her argument that the original Arne of the Boiotians was in Achaia Phthiotis. Much earlier, and without reference to the *Ἀσπίς*, Karl Müller (Müller and Schneidewin 1844, pp. 384–385) anticipated Sordi on the points that Arne was one of the cities that the Aiolic Boiotians inhabited in the eastern part of Phthiotis by the Gulf of Pagasai, and that nearby were the shrine of Athena Itonia, where her festival and games were celebrated, and the Kouarios River, a stream to be identified with the modern Amphrysos. Possibly related to this view is a fragment of Aristotle's *Παροιμίαι* (Rose 1886, F 496 [Phot. *Bibl.* s.v. ἐς κόρακας]) about Boiotians who settle in Achaia and are driven out by Aiolians. Of course, Sordi and earlier scholars did not have the benefit of subsequent archaeological discoveries in Thessaliotis.

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poet has mislocated Arne, just as in the same scene he has apparently transferred Helikê from Achaia in the Peloponnese to Phthiotic Achaia.[56] Another proposed solution to the problem of the origin of the Boiotian cult of Athena Itonia is based in part on a reference elsewhere in Strabo to a Thessalian city of Koroneia, between Narthakion and Meliteia in the *tetras* Phthiotis.[57] Though the physical site of this Koroneia has not been identified, Stählin noted that it might be sought in the neighborhood of the shrine of Athena Itonia, as in the case of Boiotian Koroneia.[58] Going beyond Stählin, Franz Kiechle, and later Heather White, pointed specifically to Koroneia in Phthiotis as the source of the Itonian cult in Boiotian Koroneia,[59] but this explanation still leaves unresolved difficulty. Strabo's location of Itonos by fairly specific geographical reference points in the perioikic region of Achaia Phthiotis does not correspond to his location of Koroneia in Phthiotis,[60] but even if an Itonian sanctuary at Thessalian Koroneia could be identified with that at Strabo's Itonos, this does not explain his apparent contradiction in putting the source of the Itoneion near Boiotian Koroneia in both Achaia Phthiotis and Thessaliote Arne.[61]

56 Russo 1950, pp. 170–171.

57 Strabo 9.5.9–10 (433–434): Ἀχαιοὶ δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ Φθιῶται πάντες. διαριθμοῦνται δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῷ Φθιωτικῷ τέλει τῷ ὑπ' Ἀχιλλεῖ κατοικίας [ἀπὸ] Μαλιέων ἀρξάμενοι πλείους μέν, ἐν δ' αὐταῖς Θήβας τὰς Φθιώτιδας … [ἔτι δὲ Ναρθάκ]ιον Ἐρινεὸν Κορώνειαν, ὁμώνυμον τῇ Βοιωτικῇ, Μελίταιαν …; Steph. Byz. s.v. Κορωνεία (… τῆς Φθιώτιδος).

58 *RE* XI, 1922, col. 1431, s.v. Koroneia 2) (F. Stählin).

59 Kiechle (1963, p. 261 and n. 3) resurrected the largely discredited idea (see above, Chapter One, p. 64) that modern Zerelia in the middle of Phthiotis was the location of the original Thessalian shrine of Itonia and interpreted Strabo's geography as meaning that this shrine was located by a Kouarios River that flowed in eastern Phthiotis between Koroneia and Itonos near Halos, and that Itonia was the city goddess of Halos before becoming identified with Athena (cf. Nilsson 1906, p. 86; *GGR*^{3}, pp. 388, 434, 552). White (1984) explained a puzzling doublet of Koroneia in Kallimachos' *Hymn to Athena* (Callim. *Hymns*, 5.61–63: ἢ 'πὶ Κορωνείας, ἢ εἰς Ἁλίαρτον ἐλαύνοι / ἵππος, Βοιωτῶν ἔργα διερκομένα, / ἢ' πὶ Κορωνείας, ἵνα οἱ τεθυωμένον ἄλσος / καὶ βωμοὶ ποταμῷ κεῖντ' ἐπὶ Κουραλίῳ·) as a subtle transitional reference to Koroneia in Phthiotis. Earlier scholars had largely dismissed the doublet as a scribal problem to be solved by emendation in the forms of omission, transposition, or substitution; see, e.g., Schneider 1870–1873, vol. 1, pp. 343–347. Rudolf Pfeiffer (1953, vol. II, p. 32: app. crit.: *haec epanaphora vix tolerari potest*) followed Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1907) in removing ἢ 'πὶ Κορωνείας in line 61, where another Boiotian toponym might be substituted. Émile Cahen (1948, p. 293) transposed the order of the two distichs.

60 Strabo, 9.5.14 (435): Itonos; 9.5.10 (434): Koroneia. Cf. the two texts above in footnotes 47 and 57 respectively.

61 Kiechle (1963, p. 261 and n. 3) offered a solution to this problem by interpreting the Itonia of Phthiotic Koroneia as a primitive chthonic goddess whose cult was transmitted to Boiotian Koroneia by Aiolic speakers long before the propagation of Athena of the promachos type from Thessaliotis after the Trojan War. Thereby Kiechle also explained the supposed chthonic aspects of the Itonian cult in Boiotia (for which see below, pp. 120–132,

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To sum up the question of a single sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly that was the direct antecedent of the cult's establishment at Boiotian Koroneia, it is fair to say that there is no answer that is able to reconcile all the variant literary testimonia and archaeological evidence. Just as it is plausible that the Boiotians brought the Itonian cult southward in various stages of their migration, so it is plausible that those who came to be called *Boiotoi* had more than one settlement in Thessaly that contributed to the immigration to Boiotia and the importing of the cult of Athena Itonia that was ultimately centralized in the ethnic sanctuary near Koroneia. If the Itonian cult was not imported just by Boiotians from Arne, the location of the Koroneian sanctuary in the west of Boiotia may indicate that it was founded in an early stage of a lengthy eastward conquest of Boiotia and that the immigrants already had by that time a sense of themselves as an *ethnos* and of Athena Itonia as their ethnic goddess. That Strabo's problem of ambiguous Thessalian sources of the Boiotian cult may stem from a historical reality of settlements of *Boiotoi* in disparate regions of Thessaly may have some support from the Roman and Byzantine testimonia, credited by some modern scholars, that the southward migration of the Thessalian *Boiotoi* was mainly from Arne in Thessaliotis but also included Boiotians who had earlier moved to the Pagasitic Gulf and other parts of Thessaly.[62] Along these lines, Albert Schachter recently offered some ingenious sets of alternatives to explain the tradition of apparent duality of Thessalian origins of Boiotian Itonia that survives in Strabo.[63] His hypotheses predicate that the Itonian cult originated at Iton in eastern Thessaly near Halos and either went west to Thessaliotis and south to Boiotian Koroneia at the same time or went first to Thessaliotis and then to Koroneia from there.

on the character of Boiotian Itonia). In a debate in which the underworld element in the Boiotian Itoneion is the question, Kiechle's explanation seems a *petitio principis*.

62 Zenobios 3.87, in Leutsch and Schneidewin [1839] 1958, pp. 78–79, s.v. ἐς κόρακας; Sordi 1958, pp. 5–10; Huxley 1967; R.J. Buck 1979, p. 75 and nn. 3 and 5.

63 Schachter 2016a, pp. 16–17; see also pp. 176–177, 182, for a related scenario in which separate migrations of the Minyans of Orchomenos from central and eastern Thessaly on the one hand, and Thebans and central and western Boiotians from north-western Greece on the other, are reflected in the geo-political rivalries of Orchomenos and Thebes in historical times.

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3 The Question of Identification of the Itonian Sanctuary near Koroneia

3.1 *Ancient Testimonia*

Strabo, upon referring to Koroneia among the Boiotian cities in Homer's "Catalogue of Ships," goes on to his account of the Boiotians' conquest of their southern homeland, giving brief geographical reference points for the locations of both Koroneia and the sanctuary of Athena Itonia. He clearly distinguishes the *polis* and the shrine in noting that Koroneia is on a height near Helikon and that Boiotians founded the sanctuary in the plain in front of the city, and he adds that the river they called Kouarios flowed by the sanctuary.[64] Other writers confirm the proximity but separateness of urban Koroneia and the Itonian sanctuary with reference points similar to those of Strabo. Xenophon's eye-witness report of the Battle of Koroneia in 394 BC and Plutarch's retelling of the same event five centuries later give the topographical details that the Spartans under Agesilaos II advanced from the Kephisos river and the Thebans from Mount Helikon, and that after they clashed on the plain of Koroneia, some Thebans retreated to Helikon and others took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia that was near the Spartan camp, presumably on the plain.[65] Livy reports that in 191 BC the Roman consul Manius Acilius Glabrio in his campaign against the Seleucid King Antiochos III, "the Great," allowed his troops to ravage the territory of Koroneia around the temple of Athena Itonia.[66] Pausanias gives a topographical sketch that is more detailed and clearly based on autopsy. Describing sites south of Lake Kopais in a westward direction from Haliartos, he reports that while traveling from Alalkomenai and before reaching Koroneia one comes to the Itonian sanctuary where the Boiotians gather for their federal meeting, adding that the sanctuary has a temple with statues of Athena and Zeus, the works of Agorakritos, the student and beloved of

64 See above, footnote 21, for the text of Strabo, 9.2.29 (411). In Strabo's apparently erroneous correction of Alkaios' Κωράλιος (Aiolic for Κουράλιος) Κουάριος is Strabo's name for the river in all the MSS except the palimpsest's Κουράλιος, which is probably a scribal correction to make the text correspond with Alkaios' Koralios or with Strabo's own reference to a Kouralios River in Thessalian Histiaiotis (on the question of these river names, see above, Chapter One, pp. 79–81); see also Wallace 1979, p. 116. The difference in names is not a crucial point in the present matter of location, but, as Radt (commentary on Strabo 411.20 [9.2.29]) has noted, proposals to emend Strabo's Kouarios to Kouralios would make his correction of Alkaios nonsensical. In other words, "Kouarios" could not be a scribal error, but the *ipsissimum verbum* of Strabo or his sources.

65 Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.16, 19–20; *Ages.* 2.9–16; Plut. *Ages* 18.1–19.1. For this battle, see also Pritchett 1965–1992, II, pp. 85–95.

66 Livy 36.20.3.

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Pheidias.[67] Looking again at the verses of the late-Archaic poets quoted above, we see that some of their references prefigure the geographical and topographical details of the later prose writers. Alkaios connects the city, the shrine, and the adjacent river when he invokes Athena as guardian of the grainfields of Koroneia by the banks of the Koralios River.[68] Pindar's notice of Theban equestrian victories around the renowned temple of Itonia suggests festival contests, likely precedents of the games of the Hellenistic and Roman Pamboiotia, a detail that implies a large enough expanse of level ground to accommodate a hippodrome and other athletic facilities.[69] Even Bacchylides' reference to Athena Itonia's temple as beautifully wrought (εὐδαίδαλον) may look forward to Pausanias' account of an edifice that was a worthy setting for such works as those of the famed late-fifth-century sculptor Agorakritos.[70]

3.2 *Modern Topography and Archaeology*

A number of early travelers and modern topographers have used the ancient testimonia cited above in combination with topographical surveys and excavations of archaeological remains in the region of western Boiotia near the Kopaic basin in their quest for the city-center of ancient Koroneia and the sanctuary and temple of Athena Itonia.[71] Since the ancient sources note that Koroneia was near Mount Helikon, and the identity of that mountain is well established, early travelers recognized the ancient urban center in undated polygonal walls and scattered potsherds found around an acropolis near the village of Agios Georgios on the north side of Helikon, about four kilometers southwest of the

67 Pausanias 9.34.1–2: πρὶν δὲ ἐς Κορώνειαν ἐξ Ἀλαλκομενῶν ἀφικέσθαι, τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστι τὸ ἱερόν· καλεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰτώνου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος, καὶ ἐς τὸν κοινὸν συνίασιν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σύλλογον. ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰτωνίας καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἀγάλματα· τέχνη δὲ Ἀγορακρίτου, μαθητοῦ τε καὶ ἐρωμένου Φειδίου. ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Χαρίτων ἀγάλματα ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. See the commentary of Papahatzis 1994–1995, vol. 5, pp. 215–218. For the fact that Pausanias' "progressions through space" are complicated but "liturgically structured" in tending to follow the routes of ancient pilgrims, see Gartland 2016a, p. 81 and n. 2, and Elsner 1992, p. 13. See below, pp. 120–132, for a discussion of the statues of the temple with regard to the nature of Athena Itonia at Koroneia.

68 Alc. fr. 325 (quoted in Strabo 9.2.29 [411]); see the text, above, p. 91 and footnote 15.

69 Pind. *Parth.* 11, fr. 94 b, lines 41–49 (see above, p. 92, and footnote 17).

70 Bacchyl. *Carmina*, fr. 15 (above, p. 92, and footnote 18).

71 See Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. pp. 117–127, for review and discussion of ancient and modern sources on the cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia.

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modern village of Mamoura (now called Alalkomenai or Alalkomenes)[72] and 10 kilometers southeast of modern Livadeia.[73]

As for the sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia, by the late-19th century Mamoura was proposed as its approximate location because, although nothing was found in situ, the buildings and environs of the village yielded many fragments of ancient architecture and a significant number of inscriptions of the Boiotian League.[74] A century later W. Kendrick Pritchett, argued that these artifacts were brought to the village as building material from an establishment that grew up in conjunction with the Itonian sanctuary, which he proposed was about a kilometer east-northeast of Mamoura around the site of the chapel of the Metamorphosis, where he found other inscriptions. When this small church was rebuilt in the 1960s its original construction was found to contain many architectural fragments, including a capital and pieces of the columns of a Doric temple. These antiquities suggested to Pritchett that the church was the site of the temple of Athena Itonia. He furthered his hypothesis by identifying a spring-fed stream about 25 yards from the chapel as the river

72 I follow W. Kendrick Pritchett (1965–1992, II, p. 86 n. 5) in calling this village by its old name, Mamoura (modern Alalkomenai), in order to distinguish it from ancient Alalkomenai.

73 For the *polis* of Koroneia, see again *IACP*, pp. 444–445. For the site of the ancient urban center, located at lat. 38.25, long. 22.55, see Fossey 1988, pp. 324–330; Gell 1810, p. 122; Leake [1835] 1967, vol. 2, pp. 132–141; Ross 1851, pp. 32–34. See also Frazer [1913] 1965, vol. 5, p. 170; *RE* XI, 1922, cols. 1425–1431, s.v. Koroneia (E. Pieske). For summaries of the early excavations of Pappadakis, see *BCH* 44 (1920), p. 388; 45 (1921), p. 522; 47 (1923), pp. 521–522. See also Pritchett 1965–1992, II, pp. 85, 92 (fig. 10, map of Kopaic Basin at Koroneia); Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, p. 28; Wallace 1979, pp. 114–115; Fossey 1974, p. 9, nn. 10–12; Fossey 1988, pp. 325–326. For the inscriptions that were probably in the *polis* of Koroneia or its vicinity, see *IG* VII 2858, 2872–2874, 2876, 2877, 2879–2882, 2885, 2886, 2888–2890, 2892, 2894, 2895, 2897–2910, 2912–2915, 2917–2921, 2923–2930, 2932–2940, 2942–2944, 2946–2954. 2956–2968, 2971, 2972, 2974–2976, 2978–2991, 2993–3014, 3016–3026, 3028, 3030–3039, 3041–3050, 3053. The following inscriptions were immured in the Church of Agios Demetrios in the village of that name, which is closer to Orchomenos than Koroneia, but Wilhelm Dittenberger judged from their subject matter that they were originally in Koroneia: *IG* VII 2870, 2875, 2883, 2884, 2891, 2893, 2896, 2922, 2941, 2955, 2969, 2992, 3015, 3027, 3029, 3040.

74 Inscriptions: Foucart 1885, pp. 427–433, nos. 41–46 (= *IG* VII 2859–2866); see also *IG* VII 2867–2869, 2871, 2878, 2905, 2970, 3051, 3052; for other inscriptions with reference to the Boiotian Itoneion, see Feyel 1942a, pp. 14–18. See below, pp. 150–151, 157–159, for the significance of honorific decrees in the federal involvement with the cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia, and pp. 160–165 for inscribed dedications of victors and victory lists pertaining to the festival of the Pamboiotia. Frazer (1898, vol. 5, p. 169) agreed with Foucart's general location of the sanctuary at Mamoura; see also *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2375, s.v. Itonia (A. Adler); Fossey 1988, pp. 330–332.

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Koralios (Alkaios) or Kouarios (Strabo) that flowed by the sanctuary.[75] Later P.W. Wallace, noting that Mamoura and the chapel of the Metamorphosis were not, as the ancient sources reported, in front of Koroneia on the way from Alalkomenai, suggested, without any archaeological evidence, that the Itonian sanctuary was located on the plain between the hill of Koroneia and the foot of Mt. Petra, the site of ancient Tilphossion.[76]

Despite the clear testimony of Strabo and Pausanias that the sanctuary of Athena Itonia was in a plain below and in front of the settlement of Koroneia and that as one travels from Alalkomenai one reaches the shrine before the town, some modern investigators have identified the sanctuary as being among the ruins of the ancient city center of Koroneia near Agios Georgios on Mt. Helikon. Between the walls of the city's acropolis and a medieval tower to the north is a depression in the terrain that may have been the site of a theater. Near this depression the German archaeologist Ludwig Ross in the late-19th century discovered the ruins of a small Doric temple,[77] which together with other apparently religious architecture has led some to identify the Itonian sanctuary at this site. The excavations of Theodoros Spyropoulos here in the 1970s revealed the partial foundations of two temples and a treasury-like building, all within what he believed to be a large precinct.[78] While allowing that the location was at odds with the geographical references of Strabo and Pausanias,[79] Spyropoulos identified the complex as the most important religious and political center of the Boiotians, the *temenos* of Athena Itonia, and interpreted an inscribed horos (HO[ρος]) found loose about 400 m north

75 Pritchett 1965–1992, II, pp. 86–87 and pls. 57–61.

76 Wallace 1979, pp. 115–116. Wallace shared with R.J. Buck (1979, p. 3) the view that the river that Strabo called Kouarios was probably an unnamed torrent on the eastern side of the Koroneian acropolis. This would fit with Pausanias' observation that the Itoneion was before Koroneia as he travels westward from Alalkomenai.

77 Ross 1851, pp. 32–34; see also Fossey 1988, 325–326.

78 See the periodic short excavations reports at Spyropoulos 1972, pp. 317–318; 1973a, pp. 271–272, 1973b, pp. 385–393; 1973c, pp. 5–6; an extensive summary report with conclusions is Spyropoulos 1975 [1977]. pp. 392–414. Conclusions: Building A' was a temple in use, to judge from the context of sherds and coins, in two major phases between the sixth century BC and the fourth or fifth century of the Roman Empire (Spyropoulos 1973b, p. 388; 1975 [1977], pp. 396–399 [and figs α-δ]; pls. 292, 293β, 294, 295); Building B' was also a temple with two phases, the later initially dating to the fourth or early-third c. BC (Spyropoulos 1973b, pp. 388–389; 1975 [1977], pp. 401–404 and fig. 3α-β; pl. 293); Building Γ ' was a small temple-like structure similar to the treasuries at Olympia and Delphi (Spyropoulos 1973b, p. 390).

79 Spyropoulos 1975 [1977], p. 394. Although the sanctuary is close to the north foot of the hill (see Fossey 1988, p. 326), if it was in Koroneia's agora, as Spyropoulos (p. 396) suggested, it would have been part of the city center.

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of the acropolis and 200 m west of the religious buildings as indicating the full extent of the Itoneion, thus one of the largest sanctuaries in Greece.[80] The publications of the excavations at Koroneia list or discuss a number of movable finds such as architectural and sculptural fragments, pottery, coins, and inscriptions,[81] but none of these objects gives probative evidence of the Itonian cult, such as Athena's name or byname unrestored in an epigraphic text.[82] Also notable is the lack of any sign in the adjacent terrain of the facilities needed to host the contests of the Pamboiotia. A few scholars have subscribed to Spyropoulos's excavation as the ruins of the Itonian *temenos*,[83] and others, while allowing that the complex was a sanctuary, have had significant reservations about its identity as the Itoneion.[84] Following the main publications of

80 Spyropoulos 1973b, pp. 390–391; 1975 [1977], p. 395. His inference, from a horos found not in situ, far from the shrine buildings, without the name of the delimited domain, and without any other evidence of the shrine's boundaries, is too bold.

81 See Spyropoulos 1973a, p. 272; 1975 [1977]. pp. 394, 400–401, 405–410, including figs. 5:α-β, 6; pls. 296–297. The most significant find, according to the excavator, was a small clay seal (σήμαντρον / σφράγισμα) of Roman date with the figure in relief of a helmeted female figure flanked with snakes and vegetive motifs. Since Spyropoulos interpreted this figure (pp. 407–410; no illustration) as an underworld goddess to be identified with the supposedly chthonic Athena Itonia in the Koroneian sanctuary, see the further reference to this seal (below, p. 130 and footnote 170) in our treatment of the character of Athena in this cult. Spyropoulos (1973b, p. 389) also associated with this cult the base of a herm inscribed with a dedication to Nike that was found in the ruins of Building B'.

82 Paul Roesch (1978, p. 8, E. 78.11) restored an inscribed tile from the site (—ς ἰαρά) as [Ἀθανᾶ]ς ἰαρά, but see Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 119 n. 3) for other restorations of this and other tile fragments. Also *exempli gratia* must be Peter Krentz's (1989, pp. 314–315; *SEG* XXXIX 432) restorations ([--Ἀ]θαν[ᾶς ἰαρά] or [--Ἀ]θαν[ᾶς Ἰτωνίας] of two Lakonian tiles found at the site.

83 See, e.g., Kowalzig 2007, p. 362 and n. 71 ("identified beyond reasonable doubt"); Mackil (2013, pp. 158–159 and n. 47) noted that "there is no serious reason to doubt" that the temple at Koroneia in Alkaios' fragmentary poem probably refers to Spyropoulos' sixth-century temple and that the poem may have been composed for the temple's inauguration; Krentz 1989, p. 415 (with minor reservation); Lagos 2001, p. 6: "… an ancient sanctuary near the acropolis of Koroneia which is likely to be the Itonion." *IACP*, pp. 444–445, notes guardedly that the sanctuary "seems to have been located just to the north of the acropolis" in the three foundations excavated by Spyropoulos.

84 E.g., see Fossey 1988, p. 326, for the opinion that the three buildings at the foot of Helikon may represent a sanctuary, but as for their being the Itoneion, "there seems little, as yet, to support [Spyropoulos'] contention;" see also p. 331 for the comment that it is more likely that Spyropoulos' shrine is within the town of Koroneia and thus at odds with Strabo's (9.2.29 [411]) description. Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 119), while allowing that identification of the complex around Building "A" as a sanctuary has merit, noted that "No definite information has been found to confirm this [Spyropoulos's] identification" and wondered (p. 239 and n. 3) whether this might have been the sanctuary of Hera with an ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον of the goddess carrying Sirens that Pausanias (9.34.3) noted below the

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the site, P.W. Wallace made the generous judgment that "These buildings may indeed have been part of the sanctuary of Itonian Athena, but further excavation seems desirable, and a more detailed publication is obviously needed."[85] Since the other chief candidates for the location of the Itoneion, the village of Mamoura and the site of the Chapel of the Metamorphosis, rely on the circumstantial evidence of inscriptions removed from their original locations, it seems judicious to conclude that, as of the present date, the search for the Koroneian sanctuary of Athena Itonia awaits further investigation and some more compelling evidence.

4 Relation of Other Boiotian Sanctuaries of Athena to the Itoneion near Koroneia

Ancient literary sources and archaeological discoveries have prompted some scholars to consider whether other Boiotian sanctuaries of Athena in fair proximity to Koroneia had some connection with the Panboiotian cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia. One such cult shrine was that of Athena Alalkomeneis or Alalkomeneia,[86] whose byname is cognate with the name of the ancient town where her sanctuary lay. Though the location of ancient Alalkomenai has also been a subject of controversy,[87] Pausanias' itinerary through central

agora at Koroneia. Schachter's (2016a, p. 180) recent comment that the site of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia "has been discovered and it is shown to have been an extramural sanctuary," seems to represent a change of mind, but this is not clear from the footnote to his work of "1981–94: 1: 117–127," and the sanctuary excavated is arguably not outside the walls of Koroneia. If Spyropoulos were right in his own speculation (1973b, pp. 391–392) that in the area of the Itonian *temenos* was the city's agora, where Pausanias (9.34.3) saw the altars of Hermes Epimelios and the Winds as well as the shrine of Hera with its "ancient statue" by Pythodoros of Thebes, one might expect that the Periegete would have mentioned the Itoneion there rather than earlier as "before reaching Koroneia" as one comes from Alalkomenai (9.34.1). The narrative sequence in Pausanias is clearly first the description of the Itonian sanctuary before the city, then the tale of Iodama which is pertinent to the Itoneion, and finally on to Koroneia and the description of its agora. See also Larson 2007, p. 136 and n. 33, regarding Spyropoulos's site: "… the evidence is insufficient in determining the divinity to whom this sanctuary belonged."

85 Wallace 1979, p. 116.

86 Homer, *Il.* 4.8, has the byname as Ἀλαλκομενηΐς, which in later authors alternates with Ἀλαλκομενεία (e.g. *Schol. Soph. O.T.* 20) and rarely Ἀλαλκομένη (Rieman 1877, p. 82).

87 See Pritchett 1965–1992, II, p. 86 n. 10, for a summary of proposed locations as of 1969. More recently this κώμη (Paus. 9.33.5; only Strabo [9.2.36 (413)] calls it a πόλις) has been identified at Vouno, about 1 km. east of modern Solinarion, and the sanctuary, the

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Boiotia notes that westward from Haliartos one passes Alalkomenai before reaching the Itonian shrine near Koroneia, thereby implying that the two cults of Athena are at least geographically distinct.[88] Albert Schachter has suggested that there was some connection between the two cult shrines and has offered alternative hypotheses: 1) The site near Koroneia was established as the location of the Itonian sanctuary of the Boiotian immigrants because it was near the pre-existing shrine of Athena Alalkomeneis; 2) Alalkomenai may have been the original site of the *temenos* of Athena Itonia, which was later relocated near Koroneia, perhaps to make room for expansion, while the old site retained its temple.[89] Schachter offered as circumstantial evidence of the Koroneian cult's being a colony of that at Alalkomenai the fact that Homer mentions Athena Alalkomeneis but not Athena Itonia and the possibility that Bacchylides considered the two bynames to be synonymous.[90] Another indication of a relationship of the two cults, and perhaps one related to the reputed antiquity of the cult at Alalkomenai, may lie in the possibility that the byname Alalkomeneia was actually attributive and only became geographic by producing the toponym Alalkomenai.[91] As the goddess who "wards off" (ἀλαλκεῖ) the

Alalkomenion, is said to be located ca. 300 m. north of the ancient town; see *IACP*, p. 438, no. 199, s.v. Alalkomenai; Wallace 1979, pp. 143–144; Knauss 1987, pp. 42–68; Fossey 1988, pp. 332–335; Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 111–114; cf. p. 112 and n. 2 for *Agorianí* as a possible alternate site for Alalkomenai; see also *Brill's NPAnt*, vol. 1, cols. 419–420, s.v. Alalcomenae (P. Funke).

88 Paus. 9.34.1: πρὶν δὲ ἐς Κορώνειαν ἐξ Ἀλαλκομενῶν ἀφικέσθαι, τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστι τὸ ἱερόν. See Papahatzis 1994–1995, vol. 5, pp. 215–216.

89 Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 113 and nn. 6–7. Later Schachter (*OCD*[4] p. 237, s.v. Boeotia, cults of; 1994, p. 72; 2016a, pp. 179–180) was less tentative, describing Athena Alalcomeneïs and Athena Itonia as the same goddess with different bynames and related sanctuaries; cf. the skepticism of Mackil (2013, p. 159 n. 48).

90 For Homer's Alalkomenai, see *Il.* 4.8 and 5.908. The evidence of Bacchylides' supposed conflation of the two cults is a comment of Lactantius on the *Thebaid* of Statius 7.330 (*Bacchylides Minervam Itoniam dixit et Alalcomenen ipsam significavit*); see Bacchylides fr. 15a: Ἀλαλκομενία (Snell and Maehler 1970, p. 90); see Schachter 1981–1994, vol, 1, p. 112 and n. 7, and his comment that "the poet here seems to identify the two epithets, either through simple error (which seems unlikely), or because the two sanctuaries were near each other, or because there were closer, inherent, links between the two."

91 See Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 112; cf. above, Chapter One, p. 12, and footnote 17, for Farnell's view that in some cases deities gave their names to cities rather than vice versa.

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enemy,[92] Athena Alalkomeneia, like Athena Polias,[93] would have had kinship with the military character of Athena Itonia.[94]

Another Boiotian city in the vicinity of Koroneia that apparently had a cult sanctuary of Athena was Haliartos. The ancient town has been identified with architectural remnants on a low hill west of the modern town that has adopted its name.[95] In the early decades of the 20th century the British School of Archaeology excavated the site of ancient Haliartos under the direction of R.P. Austin.[96] On the acropolis of the site the excavators uncovered a peribolos and two sets of inner walls that they identified as temples of the sixth and seventh centuries.[97] From a dedicatory inscription on ceramic fragments discovered in a cult deposit just outside the peribolos Austin assigned the *temenos* to Athena and suggested that her worship here was linked to the neighboring cults of Athena near Koroneia and at Alalkomenai.[98] The excavation reports concluded from pottery and other small finds in and around the peribolos that the sanctuary was in use from the seventh century to shortly before 171 BC, when the Romans destroyed Haliartos for allying itself with Perseus in the

92 See Aristarch. *Apud Scholia in Homerum* (*Il. 4.8*). Pausanias (9.33.5) recounts traditions in which Athena's byname was derived from Alalkomeneus, an aboriginal who raised Athena, or from Alkomenaia, a daughter of Ogygos. With the latter tradition Pausanias may suggest a further link of Athena Alalkomeneis and Athena Itonia in that a scholion of Pindar preserves a fragment of Lykos' *Περὶ Θηβῶν* (see below, p. 133 and footnote 183) with the tale that the union of Athena's Boiotian sister Iodama with Zeus produced Thebe the consort of Ogygos. Of course, it is usually a vain hope for the chronology and relationship of historical cults to be consistent with varying mythical genealogies.

93 Steph. Byz. 68.18–19, observed that Athena of Alalkomenai had the byname Polias and that she was connected with Zeus Polieus (see also *Etym. Magn.* 56.8–10).

94 Also in the pantheon of Boiotian martial Athenas was Athena Areia, whose Classical sanctuary at Plataia was built from that city's share of the spoils from the battle of Marathon (Paus. 9.4.1–2; Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 127–128). The cult of Athena Itonia and Athena Alalkomeneia were also related in the fact that along with the cult of Poseidon Onchestios they eventually became federal in their focus. See Benchimol 2008, p. 421 and n. 2, including the reference to his thesis of 2006, *Sanctuaires et confédérations en Béotie*, then intended for publication as a book.

95 For the site of ancient Haliartos, see Fossey 1988, pp. 300–308; *PECS*, pp. 374–375; *IACP*, pp. 441–442, s.v. Haliartos; Papahatzis' 1994–1995, vol. 5, pp. 202–212.

96 Austin 1925–1926; 1926–1927; 1931–1932.

97 Austin 1925–1926, pp. 86–90; 1931–1932, pp. 182–184, 204.

98 Of two claimed dedications to Athena, one (Austin 1931–1932, p. 187, fig. 4 and p. 199, no. 1 [ca. 500 BC]) is certain (Μνασιγενες τάθαναι ἀ[ν]εθεκε [*sic*]), but the other (p. 200, no. 3a [fifth c. BC]) is highly restored (Καλλιασ [τάθαναι ἀνεθεκε]?) For the proposed relation of Athena of Haliartos to the cults of Athena at Koroneia and Alalkomenai, see Austin 1931–1932, p. 203.

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Third Macedonian War.[99] Pausanias names no temple of Athena at Haliartos, but, since the city was not rebuilt after the Roman destruction, Austin may well have been right in his suggestion that the temple of Archaic origin that he assigned tentatively to Athena "was among the anonymous temples whose ruins Pausanias saw in the city."[100] Finally, another possible hint of a pattern of Athena worship in this part of Boiotia is the passage in Kallimachos' hymn to Athena in which the goddess is said to drive her team towards ancient Thespiai or towards Haliartos or Koroneia.[101]

A key piece of evidence of the worship of Athena among the cities of central Boiotia is a late third-century decree of the Haliartians inscribed on an altar base found in modern Haliartos and now in the collection of the archaeological museum at Thebes. The earliest studies saw in this text the acceptance by the Haliartians of an invitation by ambassadors from the city of Akraiphia to participate in sacrifices to Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios at Haliartos in the acropolis sanctuary excavated by the British.[102] Subsequent scholarship made the strong counter-argument that this would be faulty protocol and that the invitation must have been for the Haliartians to participate in a sacrifice at Akraiphia in conjunction with equestrian games in honor of Athena and Zeus, perhaps a local imitation of the contests of the Pamboiotia held beside the Itonian shrine at Koroneia.[103] Akraiphian cults of Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios may have had the kind of relationship with the Panboiotian sanctuary of the Itonian goddess that was first supposed by modern scholars for Haliartos. The fact that Akraiphia on the east side of Lake Kopais was rather far from Koroneia would have been no impediment to the sharing of cults and rituals, which was common among the *poleis* of the Boiotian *koinon* by the third

99 Austin 1931–1932, p. 204; Wallace 1979. pp. 117–119.

100 Austin 1926–1927, p. 140. Paus. 9.33.3: ἐν Ἁλιάρτῳ δὲ ναοί, καί σφισιν οὐκ ἀγάλματα ἔνεστιν, οὐκ ὄροφος ἔπεστιν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οἷς τισιν ἐποιήθησαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἠδυνάμην πυθέσθαι.

101 Callim. *Hymn* 5.61–63: ἢ εἰς Ἁλίαρτον ἐλαύνοι / ἵππως, Βοιωτῶν ἔργα διερχομένα, / ἢ' πὶ Κορωνείας. Cf. Schachter's (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 116 and n. 1) doubt that the verse is to be taken as a reference to Athena's shrine at Haliartos.

102 *Ed. princ.* (*SEG* XXV 556); cf. the improved text of Roesch *Éb*, pp. 203–255 (*SEG* XXXII 456).

103 Rigsby 1987, pp. 59–84 (*SEG* XXXVII 380). By the time he published his third volume on Boiotian cults Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 3, pp. 20–21) agreed with Rigsby that the games and sacrifices took place in the territory of the Akraiphians but departed from him in interpreting the contest as part of the Akraiphian Ptoia rather than another local event during the Ptoia; see also Nafissi 1991–1993. A further hint that the cult of Zeus Karaios belonged to Akraiphia rather than Haliartos lies in the possibility that Καραιός was rooted in κάρᾱ ("peak," "top"; see LSJ, s.v. A, 2; see Hesychios, s.v. Καραιός with the note of such an interpretation) and thus a byname suited to Akraiphia in the range of Mt Ptoion and less so to Haliartos in the plain south of Lake Kopais.

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century BC.[104] Furthermore, it may be more than coincidence that this pairing of Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios parallels approximately that of Athena Itonia and Zeus that Pausanias observed in the statues by Agorakritos at the sanctuary near Koroneia.[105] Although Pausanias gave no byname of the Zeus of Agorakritos, Schachter, though writing at the time in the belief that the sanctuary of Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios of the Haliartian decree was in Haliartos, suggested that the Zeus at Koroneia was also Karaios and, moreover, that if Zeus Karaios was not always worshipped with Athena Itonia at Haliartos, the proximity of the ethnic sanctuary at Koroneia may have caused the Haliartians to add Zeus to their cult of Athena Itonia.[106] Although Akraiphian territory was more distant from Koroneia, Schachter's hypotheses, *mutatis mutandis*, could just as well apply to Akraiphia as the site of the sacrifice referred to in the Haliartian decree.[107] Finally, we must note another type of relation of the cult of Athena Itonia to sanctuaries beyond that near Koroneia that appears in an inscription about the reorganization of the festival of Apollo Ptoios at Akraiphia around 220 BC. Included in this document is a provision to send embassies to other Boiotian *poleis* and invite them to participate in a Ptoian festival that now includes among other innovations rites for Athena Itonia.[108]

In sum, the cult and sanctuary at Akraiphia along with those at Alalkomenai and Haliartos may have constituted an early amphictyony,[109] or at least an

104 For ancient Akraiphia, at a site not fully excavated, see *PECS*, pp. 27–28; *IACP*, pp. 437–438, no. 198

105 Paus. 9.34.1. See below, pp. 120–125, for the male figure at Koroneia, which Strabo identified as Hades rather than Zeus.

106 Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 116.

107 On the subject of claimed religious connections of Akraiphia and Koroneia we must note a decree of Koroneia (ca. 185–175 B.C.) found by the temple of Apollo Ptoïos at Akraiphia honoring judges there. In the first edition Holleaux (1892, pp. 458–460, no. III) restored at lines 3–4, ἐν τῶ ἱαρῶ τ[ᾶς Ἀθάνας Ἰτωνίας .....κὴ ἐν τῶ ἱα] / ρῶ. Later, Feyel (1942α, no. 2, pp. 47–48) restored in the same lines, ἐν τῶ ἱαρῶ τᾷ[ς Ἀθανᾶς τᾶς Ἰτωνίας ἐν Κορωνείῃ, κὴ ἐν τῶ ἱα] / ρῶ. Cf., however, Roesch *Éb* p. 408, for a critique of Feyel's treatment of the decree. Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 121 n. 1), harking back to the decree of the Haliartians about sacrifices at Akraiphia (*SEG* XXXVII 380; see above, p. 113 and footnote 103), restored, ἐν τῶ ἱαρῶ τᾷ[ς Ἀθανᾶς κὴ Διὸς Καραιῶ κὴ ἐν τῶ ἱα] / ρῶ. A short fragment of the same decree found earlier was published as *IG* VII 4145 (see Holleaux 1892, pp. 459–460). A fragmentary dedicatory inscription to Zeus Karaios (*IG* VII 3208) was found ex situ near ancient Orchomenos.

108 *IThesp* 201; *SEG* III 354. See Mackil 2013, p. 385 and n. 249, for the reflection that this incorporation of rites of an essentially federal cult deity into a local festival represents a compromise of the authority of the *koinon* over its *poleis*.

109 Cf. below, pp. 129–130 for Spyropoulos' hypothesis of an elaborate amphictyony in the Kopaic region that centered in prehistoric times on a local female goddess of fertility

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informal network of worship, based on cults of Athena in western and central Boiotia that flourished in association with the cult and shrine of Athena Itonia at Koroneia and thus shared in, and contributed to, the cultivation of the religious and political unity of Boiotians in the region and eventually the nation.[110]

5 The Character of Boiotian Athena Itonia and Her Cult

On the subject of the nature of Athena Itonia at her sanctuary near Koroneia some scholarship has concluded from the chief literary sources that in the propagation of her cult from Thessaly to Boiotia she brought with her and retained the martial character that was so manifest in her Thessalian history.[111] As noted above, Strabo's linking of the transmission of the cult with a southward invasion of the Boiotians after the Trojan War is circumstantially and chronologically questionable, but his sense of the military aspect of the goddess may have influenced his presentation of the Boiotian migration as a

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and the underworld whose cult eventually influenced the character of Athena Itonia in her Panboiotian cult at Koroneia. For the question of chthonic attributes of Athena at Koroneia, see below, pp. 120–132.

110 Further early evidence of a Boiotian *ethnos* and its cults of martial Athena, but somewhat distant from those previously mentioned, is an inscribed base (Βοιοτοὶ Προναίαι) of the sixth century from the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios at Akraiphia that probably supported a statue of the war goddess; see Ducat 1971, p. 409, no. 257; Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 60, 69; Schachter 2016a, p. 57 and n. 23; Larson 2007, p. 140 n. 55; Beck 2014, p. 24 and nn. 13–24. Somewhat earlier in the sixth century, and the earliest epigraphic attestation to the regional ethnic name *Boiotoi* from outside Boiotia, is the base of a lost statuette dedicated to Athena (probably with the epithet Tritogeneia) at Delphi (Delphi Museum inv. 3078; Larson 2007, pp. 137–138), where the early and later communal identity of the Boiotians and their devotion to Athena would have been advertised to a wider Greek world (Scott 2016, pp. 104 with n. 16). On the significance of *ethnika* in dedicatory inscriptions, see preliminary observations at Schachter 2016a, pp. 165–167.

111 See above, Chapter One, pp. 23–34, on the military character of the goddess in Thessaly. See Kowalzig 2007. pp. 362–364, esp. p. 362: "Athena Itonia was a warrior goddess for the Thessalians as much as for the Boiotians, and her journey from Thessaly into Boiotia was one of conquest." See also Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 119: "Whatever the goddess' character may have been in her original home, it is clear that at Koroneia she was a patroness of warriors." Schachter's qualification about Athena Itonia's character in Thessaly stems from the conjecture that at some time she acquired a chthonic aspect (*contra* such an attribute in Thessaly, see above, Chapter One, p. 25 and footnote 69), and that this aspect of her cult accounts for a late emergence of a supposed chthonic element in her worship at the sanctuary near Koroneia (for which see below, pp. 120–132).

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single active military campaign rather than a series of periodic migrations.[112] In the earliest direct testimonia to the cult near Koroneia, lyric poets of the late Archaic period allude to Athena Itonia as a warrior goddess. Alkaios, if the restoration in his text of the epithet πολε[μάδοκε] is correct, addresses the goddess initially as "Athena, *war-sustaining* queen,"[113] and Bacchylides' describes Koroneian Itonia as χρυσαίγις, a term reminiscent of Homer's images of Athena on the battlefield of Troy with her gold-tasseled aegis or taking off her homemade chiton and donning the aegis of her father Zeus as she arms for tearful war.[114] Also reflective of this martial character of Athena Itonia at Koroneia is the testimony of Simonides that in a violent escalation of military practice Athena killed her sister Iodama, a figure whose lore is chiefly associated with the Boiotian cult of Itonia.[115] In sum, as far down in time as the Archaic period all we know of the nature of Athena Itonia in Boiotia is martial. It is very likely that in the initial propagation of the Itonian cult to Koroneia the goddess brought from Thessaly her martial attributes, including those of military horsemanship. Further strong evidence of the enduring martial character of

112 Cf. again Kowalzig 2007, p. 363, for her rhetorical question about the early lyric poets' use of martial epithets for Itonia: "… should this be in allusion to the context of conquest from which she arose in Boiotia?"

113 Alc. (quoted in Strabo 9.2.29 [411]), Lobel-Page, fr. 325: ἄνασσ' Ἀθανάα πολε [….]. See above, p. 91, footnote 15, for the fuller text as restored by Voigt.

114 Bacchyl. *Carm.* fr. 15: χρυσαίγιδος Ἰτωνίας. Cf. *Il.* 2.446–448 (μετὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη / αἰγίδ' ἔχουσ' ἐρίτιμον ἀγήρων ἀθανάτην τε, / τῆς ἑκατὸν θύσανοι παγχρύσεοι ἠερέθονται,); 5.733–739 (αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο / πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἑανὸν πατρὸς ἐπ' οὔδει / ποικίλον, ὅν ῥ' αὐτὴ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμε χερσίν· / ἢ δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνδῦσα Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο / τεύχεσιν ἐς πόλεμον θωρήσσετο δακρυόεντα. / ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν / δεινήν, ἣν περὶ μὲν πάντῃ Φόβος ἐστεφάνωται). Farnell ([1896–1909] 1977, vol. 1, p. 301 and n. 61), in reference to Bacchyl. *Carm.* fr. 23 (see the full text above, p. xx and footnote xx), noted that Athena Itonia was not only a war-goddess, but also a patron of the peaceful arts, especially poetry, and interpreted the ἁβρόν τι of the same verse as an offering of song in a contest of the Itonia. Farnell apparently understood Bacchylides as referring to Athena's Thessalian festival rather than the Pamboiotia, but the fragment is now generally thought to be about Athena Itonia at her Boiotian sanctuary near Koroneia. Ure (1929, p. 169), for example, understood Bacchylides as referring to musical contests in the festival of Athena Itonia near Koroneia, just as she interpreted musical scenes on early Boiotian vase-paintings. Similarly, Kowalzig (2007, p. 363) thought the passage a fragment of religious song composed for performances in honor of Itonia as a Boiotian war- goddess.

115 *Etym. Magn.* p. 479: *FGrH* Simonides of Keos, F 1: Ἰτώνου θυγατέρας γενέσθαι δύο, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἰοδάμαν, ἅς ἐζηλοκυίας τὴν ὁπλομαχικὴν εἰς ἔριν τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλας χωρῆσαι, ἀναιρεθῆναι τε τὴν Ἰοδάμαν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. The story is repeated in a scholion to Lykophron (Tzetz. ad Lyc. 355), where Athena Itonia is called πολεμικωτάτην, and Apollodoros (3.12.3) tells a similar story in which Athena kills her childhood friend Pallas in military practice. On Iodama in the Itonian cult at Koroneia, see below, pp. 132–137.

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the Boiotian ethnic goddess is that in the Hellenistic period the celebration of the festival of the Pamboiotia at her shrine near Koroneia featured contests of mounted soldiery, infantry, and weaponry that were exclusively Boiotian and on the whole distinctly more military in purpose than the games of most other Greek festivals.[116]

Some scholarship has also interpreted the iconography of Boiotian coins and vase paintings as marking the martial nature of Athena Itonia in the ethnic and federal cult.[117] The cutout shield, the distinctive obverse coin type of the Boiotian *poleis* in the Archaic and Classical periods,[118] is plausibly considered to be, like the types of many Greek coins, a pun, in this case playing on the similarity of the word for the hide of an ox (βοῦς), a material of many ancient shields, and the shared insignia of the ἔθνος of the Βοιωτῶν.[119] Apropos of our subject, some have thought that this shield was a specific symbol of martial Athena Itonia common to Boiotian *poleis*, but the image of the cutout shield is commonly paired with images and symbols of other cult deities in addition to Athena,[120] and its association with her may have been influenced in part by an

116 On the Hellenistic festival of the Pamboiotia and its military games, see below, pp. 160–162.

117 In this chapter I refer to the iconography of Boiotian coinage and vase painting mainly in relation to the cult of Athena Itonia. For a wider analysis of the coinage, especially the references of its iconography, and particularly the symbol of the shield, to genealogical, ethnic, and heroic relationships, and weaponry in the context of Boiotian collective identity, see Larson 2007, pp. 67–109.

118 For current dating of the earliest Boiotian coinage to some time in the latter half of the sixth century BC, see Kraay 1976, p. 109; see also Schachter 1989, p. 85 n. 44. For the chronology of Theban coinage, see Schachter 2016b. For Boiotian coinage in general, see *BMC*, vol. 8, pp. 32–93. For coinage of the individual Boiotian *poleis*, see *IACP*, pp. 431–461, s.v. Boiotia, under the names of the respective cities. Following Larson 2007 (see p. 67), I use the term "cutout" shield instead of the customary "Boiotian " shield because the shape is not exclusive to Boiotian iconography. For this shield as a Boiotian symbol, cf. also Lacroix 1958; *IACP* 2004, p. 432; Mackil and Alfen 2006. pp. 219–231; Lagos 2001.

119 On the shield type as this pun, see Lacroix 1958, pp. 20–22; Kraay 1966, p. 336; Larson 2007, pp. 78–79.

120 If the Boiotian buckler was a religious symbol, Paul Roesch (*Éb*, p. 224) favored a reference to Athena Itonia as the protectress of the Confederation rather than to Herakles the hero of hegemonic Thebes (as suggested by: Head 1881, p. 186; *BMC*, vol. 8, *Central Greece*, p. XXXVI; Babelon 1901–1903, II 1, pp. 936–938). An unusual pairing of the cutout shield as the obverse type with helmeted Athena on the reverse is found on a silver obol from Koroneia, dated ca. 400–350 BC (Fig. **24**). See Lagos, 2001, pp. 1–10 and pl. 1, for the view that two silver issues with the Boiotian shield on the obverse and Athena on the reverse plausibly belong to Koroneia, not Cilicia. Much more common in Boiotian coinage, and reflective of the frequent Theban hegemony, are coins with the cutout shield backed by types devoted to such local Theban cult symbols as ivy-crowned Dionysos (Fig. **25**: silver stater, ca. 425–395 BC), ivy-decorated amphora **(**Fig. **26**: silver stater, 371–338 BC), a youthful head of Herakles in profile wearing the lion's skin headdress (Fig. **27**: silver

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erroneous interpretation of Pausanias 1.25.7.[121] As a corollary of this common numismatic symbol and in the belief that Tanagra was the commercial center of the Boiotians in the late Archaic and early Classic periods, it has been suggested without any real evidence that there was common league coinage that came from a shared mint at Tanagra.[122] It is likely, in any case, that the "cooperative coinage" of the Boiotian *poleis*, in the sense that they had the common type of the shield, says less of religious organization than of the facilitation of inter-*polis* commerce, the payment of taxes to an evolving regional federation, and other ventures undertaken with a sense of shared identity.[123] The *polis* of Koroneia, which struck silver coins on the Aiginetan standard around 500–480 and 456–374 BC, also yields issues with the shield on the obverse paired with the reverse type of a Gorgon head, the latter image possibly a reference to Athena of the nearby Itoneion and perhaps to the myth of Iodama's being killed at that shrine by the sight of the goddess's gorgoneion.[124] It might be said that Athena was depicted as helmeted so widely in the Greek world that this numismatic type may not have signified the Itonian Athena of Koroneia specifically, but on the reverse type of at least one Koroneian obol the letters IT[ΩNIA] have been observed next to the bust of armed Athena,[125] and it is noteworthy that the

obol, 395–338 BC), and a bearded frontal head of Herakles with the lion's skin headdress (Fig. **28**: silver stater, ca. 440–425 BC)

121 *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2376, s.v. Itonia (A. Adler); cf. *HN*², p. 344, where Pausanias (1.25.7) is mistakenly interpreted as stating that Lachares stole gold shields and gold plate from the temple of Athena at Koroneia rather than at Athens.

122 *BMC*, vol. 8, *Central Greece*, p. XXXVIII; Seltman 1955, p. 55. See Fig. **29** for a silver stater of Tanagra (early-mid 4th c. BC) with the cutout shield paired with the forepart of a horse with a garlanded neck.

123 See Larson 2007, pp. 67–109; Mackil 2014, pp. 46, 48; see also Schachter (2016a, pp. 47–48), who added a practical reason for the common type of cutout shield, i.e., that it distinguished Boiotian coinage from that of other Greek states that used the same weight standard. For "cooperative coinage" see Mackil and van Alfen 2006. On Boiotian payment of a common tax, see Mackil's (2014, pp. 47–48) comments on Hdt. 6.108.5–6: ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν.

124 See, e.g., Figs. **30** and **31** for Koroneian silver obols of ca. 400–350 BC featuring the cutout shield and the Gorgon's head. See further on Koroneian issues, *BMC*, vol. 8, pp. 46–47 (Koroneia), nos. 1–5 (*Obv*. cutout shield; *Rev*. incuse square), pl. VII:5; nos. 6–11 (*Obv*. cutout shield; *Rev*. Gorgon head), pl. VII:6–9; nos. 12–13 (*Obv*. cutout shield; *Rev*. helmeted head of Athena, pl. VII:10–11). Also on the coinage of Koroneia, see *IACP*, p. 445. For Pausanias' (9.34.2) tale of Iodama and the gorgoneion, an alternative to Simonides' version of her death, see below, pp. 133–134. See also *HN*² 345; Kraay 1976, pp. 110–111; Schachter 1989, p. 85; *SNG Cop*. 3, pp. 182–186.

125 Lagos 2001, p. 6, and pl. 1, 13. One motif of Lagos's article, that details of the numismatic iconography of Athena may represent the form of Agorakritos' statue of the goddess, is a long shot. The same is true of Spyropoulos's (1975 [1977], pp. 408–410) view of the bust of

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image of armed Athena is uncommon on numismatic finds from Boiotian cities other than Koroneia, including Haliartos, which had its own cult of Athena.[126] In the realm of vase-painting Annie D. Ure identified somewhat tentatively a number of sixth-century geometricising vases, some of them formerly said to depict events in the Panathenaic festival, as Boiotian and interpreted their scenes as depictions of athletic events and victory celebrations at the festival of Athena Itonia near Koroneia.[127] Ure focussed especially on a depiction of Athena of the promachos type on a Boiotian black-figure lekane in the British Museum (B 80), identifying the goddess in a sacrificial scene as the Koroneian Athena Itonia in full panoply standing behind an altar that is approached by a procession that includes a priestess and men leading a bull.[128] Ure observed that this interpretation accords chronologically and descriptively with the references variously to the military goddess, her cult sanctuary, and her festival by Alkaios, Pindar, and Bacchylides.[129] Ure emphasized her interpretation by noting that, "as far as we know," Itonia was the only predominantly martial Athena worshipped in Boiotia during this early period.[130] Albert Schachter expanded on the work of Ure, calling attention to other sixth-century geometricising vases that he associated tentatively with the Itonian cult at its sanctuary near Koroneia.[131] The association of these vase paintings with the Boiotian cult of Athena Itonia is still speculative, and it has been noted that the shield of armed Athena in the sacrificial scene on the British Museum lekane is not the cutout type of Boiotian coinage but the round shield depicted on Thessalian coinage associated with the cult of Athena Itonia.[132] As will be seen below,

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Athena depicted on a skyphos of Roman date as representing the fifth-century sculptor's Athena at Koroneia.

126 See *BMC*. vol. 8, pp. 48–49 (Haliartos); exceptions: p. 50 (Lebadeia), nos. 1–2 (*Obv*. helmeted head of Athena; *Rev*. olive wreath), pl. VII:18. For the cult of Athena at Haliartos, see above, pp. 112–114.

127 Ure 1929.

128 Cf. Mackil's (2013, p. 160 n. 51) difficulty in seeing anything more than a generic ritual in this scene.

129 Ure 1929, pp. 168–169. On the testimonia of these poets, see above, pp. 91–92 and footnotes 15–18.

130 Ure 1929, p. 168. *Contra* Ure, it has been strongly suggested (see above, pp. 111–112, and footnotes 88–94) that Athena Alalkomeneis may have preceded Athena Itonia as a Boiotian military goddess.

131 Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 119, for two vases in the Louvre (CA1446 and CA1707); p. 122 and nn. 6–8, with reference to *CVA France* 26 *Louvre* 17 (Paris 1974, pl. 33.3, and perhaps pl. 32.2; *BCH* 99 (1975) 433.16; 434.24; 434.35; *CVA France* 26 *Louvre* 17 (Paris 1974) pl. 33.3; *BCH* 99 (1975) 430.8; 433.16; 434.24; 434.29; 434.35; 434.36.

132 Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 119 and n. 6; Larson 2007, p. 80 and nn. 66–67. For the Athena Itonia of Thessalian coinage, see above, Chapter One, pp. 19, 30–33, 36, 41 and Figs. 2–6, 7–23.

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while Ure and Schachter allowed that the Koroneian Athena contemporary with this vase was a war goddess, they also saw a chthonic aspect of the cult.[133]

The different identities that Strabo and Pausanias gave to the statue of a male god situated with that of Athena Itonia in the temple near Koroneia have generated much scholarly interest and controversy about the character of Athena herself at that ancient site. The Geographer writes that the temple has a statue of Hades "for some mystical reason, as they say," alongside that of Athena, but the Periegete reports that there are bronze statues of Athena Itonia and Zeus, both works of Agorakritos, the pupil and *erômenos* of Pheidias.[134] Thus, the only information that is common to these two brief references is that there was a statue of Athena Itonia and one of a male deity. Even though a century and a half separated the writings of Strabo and Pausanias, it is likely they were referring to the same male figure paired with that of Athena Itonia. Though Strabo names the female figure simply as Athena, his wider reference to the cult sanctuary shows that he means the Itonian goddess.

It is a fair assumption that the image of Athena noted by Strabo and Pausanias is the cult statue, but is it related to the male image in some way other than simply being present in the same temple? There is no sure evidence that this was a dual cult, but since Pausanias identifies the two statues as works of the same sculptor, and Strabo uses the verb συγκαθίδρυται ("is set together with"), the two figures had at least artistic and locational relationships. Whether Athena Itonia shared any of the character of the depicted male deity, whatever that was, is in the end the key question to be addressed in this study.

Meanwhile, it is advisable to consider separately the related but prior issue of the contrary identifications of the male figure. Unfortunately, many scholars have passed over this step, assuming from Strabo's mention of Hades either that he was correct or that Pausanias' Zeus had a chthonic nature, assuming further that Athena shared that nature, and going directly to various proposals of an origin and chronology of her presumed chthonic attributes. For the present, however, we should begin by taking the accounts of Strabo and Pausanias at their face value, that is, first addressing the problem as simply a choice between Zeus and Hades, two deities with no assumption of bynames or attributes beyond what are usual to them, and without regard to any association with the nature of Athena Itonia. In this *prima facie* approach there

133 Below, pp. 126–127.

134 Strabo 9.2.29 (411): ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὰ Παμβοιώτια συνετέλουν· συγκαθίδρυται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὁ Ἅιδης κατά τινα, ὥς φασι, μυστικὴν αἰτίαν. Paus. 9.34.1: ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰτωνίας καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἀγάλματα· τέχνη δὲ Ἀγορακρίτου, μαθητοῦ τε καὶ ἐρωμένου Φειδίου.

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are good reasons to favor Pausanias' identification of the male figure as simply a Classical image of Zeus. It is possible that a goddess or heroine Itonia before merging with Athena was at the root of the Thessalian myth that Itonia was the daughter of a hero-king Itonos,[135] but Zeus is the usual father of Athena in her wider mythic and cultic roles. The latter familial relationship is at the root of abundant pairings of Zeus and Athena in literature and art, and therefore a partnership of the two statues by Agorakritos in the temple near Koroneia may simply have reflected this common father-daughter kinship. Since it is generally agreed that the Boiotian cult of Athena Itonia came from Thessaly, a circumstantial argument for Pausanias' identification is that Athena Itonia plausibly brought with her to Boiotia the close association she had with Zeus in the cults of Thessaly.[136] There are also parallels in Itonian cult ritual beyond Koroneia for the association of Zeus and Athena. Already noted is the decree of Haliartos dealing with sacrifice to Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios at Akraiphia and the possibility that the Zeus of Koroneia was also Karaios.[137] In our later treatment of the cult of Athena Itonia on the Cycladic island of Amorgos, we will see that sacrifices there were ordered for both Athena Itonia and Zeus in at least one celebration of the festival of the Itonia.[138]

When we consider the opposing proposition of Strabo, that the male figure in the Koroneian temple was Hades, we find that the evidence of myth,

135 See above, Chapter One, p. 17 and footnotes 38–39.

136 For evidence in sanctuaries and festivals of the important combination of the cults of Athena Itonia and Zeus Eleutherios in the religion of the Late Hellenistic League of the Thessalians, see Graninger 2011, pp. 43–44, 85–86 (Athena and Zeus), 46–67 (Athena), 67–85 (Zeus). The closeness of the cults of Zeus and Athena Itonia in Thessaly is reflected also in their appearance as opposing types on Thessalian coinage, see, e.g., *LIMC* VIII (1997), p. 368, no. 535, s.v. Zeus (I. Leventi, V. Machaira): AR double victoriate, AE, Thessalian League, 196-first c. BC. Rogers 1932, pp. 24–25, nos. 52–54 and fig. 7; *SNG* Cop. 3, 269–299, 323—Rev. Athena Itonia; *LIMC* VIII (1997), p. 369, no. 568, s.v. Zeus (I. Leventi, V. Machaira) AE Larissa, Thessaly, 197–146 BC. Rogers 1932, p. 105, no. 323 fig. 162.- Obv. Head of Zeus—Rev. Athena Itonia.

137 Above, pp. 113–115 and footnotes 102–110. See Schachter 2016a, pp. 20–21, 144 n. 24, and below, p. 127 and footnotes 158–161, for the suggestion that the figure of a snake on the Archaic Boiotian black-figure vase in the British Museum (B80) represents the Zeus of the Minyans of Orchomenos, Karaios or Akraios, also a god of Thessalian origin, whom the Orchomenians, before bowing to Theban supremacy in the late-sixth century, implanted alongside Athena Itonia in the sanctuary near Koroneia, thus introducing a chthonic element to that cult place. See further, Schachter 2016a, p. 181, for the view of Thessalin origins of the alleged chthonic Zeus at Boiotian Koroneia.

138 *IG* XII 7. 35, lines 9–10; see below, Chapter Four, pp. 225–226 and footnote 75, including consideration of the view of Constantine Lagos (2009) that this common cultic association of Athena Itonia and Zeus is among circumstantial evidence that the Amorgian cult of Athena Itonia came from Boiotia.

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cult, and iconography allows only weak argument for a partnership of Athena Itonia and Hades.[139] Strabo's own comment that he and his sources have no explanation for a Hades in this sanctuary ("for some mystic reason, as they say"),[140] may imply not some cabalism known only to the initiated but misidentification—that is, it was hard to explain the figure as Hades because it was actually Zeus.[141] Though Plouton, a more peaceful version of the king of the underworld is not uncommon in Greek cult, evidence that Hades plays a quite subordinate role are the testimonia of Pausanias that only the Eleans worship Hades and of Porphyry that in no Greek city is there an altar for Hades.[142] It is understandable then that there is no stable portrait type of this chthonic figure in the sculptural canon, no certain representation of him in the Archaic period, and later attestations of his image as analogous to a Koroneian Hades are uncommon and highly conjectural. For example, identifications of Hades in the Millesgarden Head or the head with an oak crown in Dresden as artistic parallels of a Koroneian Hades have elicited considerable doubt.[143]

On the basic question of Hades or Zeus in the temple of Athena Itonia near Koroneia, it is worth looking also at evidence for the comparative reliabilities of Strabo and Pausanias in general and in this case particularly. In the general realm, we have already noted problems of ambiguity and contradiction in Strabo's account of the Itonian sanctuaries in Thessaly and the propagation of the cult to Koroneia, problems that cannot all be laid to textual transmission.[144] With regard to the sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia, Strabo's account is a brief and subordinate point to his interest in following and verifying the

139 See *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 371, no. 3, s.v. Hades (commentary, p. 389, [R. Lindner with contribution of the literary sources by Stefan-Christian Dahlinger]), for general and specific doubts that Agorakritos' male figure at Koroneia was Hades.

140 Strabo 9.2.29 (411): κατά τινα, ὥς φασι, μυστικὴν αἰτίαν.

141 Spyropoulos (1975 [1977], p. 413), while advocating the antiquity of Hades and other chthonic beings at the site, comments honestly on Strabo's μυστικὴν αἰτίαν: "Εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο στοιχεῖον ἀλλότριον πρὸς τὸν πολεμικὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς θεᾶς. Εἶναι ἄγνωστοι αἱ καταβολαὶ τῆς μυστηριακῆς αὐτῆς λατρείας, ἄγνωστος ἡ ἔκφρασις καὶ τὸ περιεχόμενόν της, ἄγνωστον το τελετουργικόν της."

142 Paus. 6.25.2; Porph. *ad Il.*, 1.133.22.

143 *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 371, no. 3, s.v. Hades, about echoes of a Koroneian Hades in the Millesgarden (or Barberini-Milles) Head and the oak-crowned head of the Dresden Zeus; p. 389, commentary of R. Lindner with contribution of the literary sources by Stefan-Christian Dahlinger on the general rarity of images of Hades and the dubiety concerning the male image at Koroneia as a chthonic deity. See also Hölscher 1969 *contra* Andrén 1962–1963; see also Fuchs 1982, p. 789, against recognition of a Hades of Koroneia in the Dresden Zeus and other parallels proposed by Despinis 1971, pp. 133–145; also Alscher 1954–1982, vol. II 2, pp. 482–483; Vierneisel-Schlörb, *KatSkulptMünchen* II pp. 148–150.

144 See above, Chapter One, pp. 59, 61–62, 66–78, and the present chapter, pp. 87–104, 122–123.

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cities in Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" and in presenting the prehistoric southern migration of the Boiotians as a military invasion that brought with it the Itonian cult. These broad purposes and the antiquity of his subjects may account for Strabo's lack of detail, his apparently erroneous corrections of Alkaios regarding the name of the Koralios River and the location of Onchestos,[145] and his offhand note of a figure of Hades at Koroneia as a mystery to himself and others, but they could also account for an erroneous identification of that male figure. Moreover, as well as Strabo's topographical errors, his reference to others (ὥς φασι) for the mystery of Hades in this context may imply that he is not giving his readers a first-hand account of the Koroneian sanctuary, but deriving it from secondary sources. Turning to Pausanias, we repeat what was noted earlier, that modern topography and archaeology has upheld his credibility to a fairly high degree.[146] As for the Periegete's account of the Itonian sanctuary at Koroneia, his narrative itinerary and its clear indication of travel to the site, the details that the statues of Athena Itonia and Zeus are bronze and that the sculptor was Agorakritos, the student and beloved of Pheidias, the observation that images of the Charites were dedicated at the shrine in his own time, and the recording of such local lore as the involvement of Iodama in the cult all redound to a sense that Pausanias is describing what he closely observed and heard *in situ*, an assessment that cannot be said of Strabo in this case.[147] In

145 For the site of ancient Onchestos (modern *Kazárma, Stení*) on a ridge between Mt. Helikon and Lake Kopais, see Fossey 1988, pp. 308–312; see Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 2, pp. 207–208) for identification of Onchestos as two sites, one of the temple and " bouleuterion," and one of the "agora (?)"; cf. Wallace 1979, p. 136, on Alkaios' being right in locating Onchestos on the extremities of Mt. Helikon; for the Kouralios / Koralios River, see above, p. 105 and footnote 64.

146 See above, p. 83, footnote 308. Pausanias, like Herodotus, sometimes relates preposterous stories, but, like Herodotus, he is often non-commital or dubious about them.

147 Paus. 9.34.1–2. Cf. Weller 1906 (esp. pp. 353–354 on Boiotia) for a summary of the early scholarship on the question of Strabo's autopsy and an argument of his own thesis that study of the details of Strabo's narrative in the light of archaeology shows the Geographer to be much less likely than Pausanias a first-hand recorder of things. Wallace (1979) in his Introduction (pp. 1–4), which is an assessment of Strabo's historical worth with some comparisons to Pausanias, notes that "it is not possible to say definitely whether or not Strabo saw any part of Boiotia," though he concludes (pp. 168–172) that the lesser detail in Strabo may result in part from his different purpose, and that the Geographer probably visited some places in the interior of Boiotia. The term περιήγησις applied to Pausanias' work reflects the general agreement that many of his descriptions are first-hand, as does the inarguable fact that he is seeing monuments as they were in the second century of the Roman Imperial period—authentic, bogus, ruined and well preserved—even though his interest is concentrated on survivals and revivals of antiquities from earlier centuries. A specific indication of Pausanias' autopsy is his distinction (5.11.9), with regard to the statue of Zeus at Olympia, between transmitting information and conveying an impression. In

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short, whereas the nature of Strabo's attention to geography and legend could understandably lead to misidentification of a statue, whether he saw it or it was reported to him, Pausanias' superior interest and experience in mythology, religious cult, monuments, and the various genres of art make it less likely that he would wrongly identify the male figure at Koroneia. Part of the attraction of Strabo's claim of an underworld male deity at the Itonian shrine seems to be that it is so unusual. In consideration of the comparison of the experience and purposes of Strabo and Pausanias, we should answer negatively the rhetorical question whether we should favor Hades as the correct identification of the male figure as a choice of the *lectio difficilior.*[148] By the same considerations it further strains credibility to finesse the problem by reconciling Strabo and Pausanias with the proposition that Pausanias either failed to see subtle indications of the chthonic nature of the male figure or that he saw them but ignored a byname such as Chthonios or Katachthonios in referring to Zeus.[149] These solutions presume that Pausanias was either ignorant or inattentive in this case with regard to matters on which he was usually a most attentive observer and analyst among ancient authors.[150] Though there is no unquestionably probative case for the statement of either Strabo or Pausanias regarding the identification of the male figure at the Itonian temple near Koroneia, when

general, see Schachter's paper (2016a, pp. 133–147) on Pausanias and Boiotia, and, in particular, pp. 133–135, 146–147, on the Periegete's approach to his subject.

148 *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 371, no. 3, s.v. Hades, commentary, p. 389: „Wenn Strabon als die *lectio difficilior* akzeptiert wird, ergibt sich aus der Verwechslung des Paus., dass H. nicht durch leicht deutbare Attribute, sondern durch subtile bildnerische Mittel in seinem Wesen charakterisiert war" (R. Lindner with contribution of the literary sources by Stefan-Christian Dahlinger). Strabo's Hades is the *lectio difficilior* in a literal sense, but it would be fallacious to attribute to the term here the connotation of its paleographical use, i.e., that the more difficult reading is the more likely one.

149 E.g., Despinis 1971, pp. 142–143. Cf. *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 371, no. 3, s.v. Hades, commentary, p. 389, *contra* proponents of the idea of the following scholars that Pausanias' Zeus has a chthonic hypostasis: Ure 1929, p. 168; Andrén 1962–1963, p. 38; Wallace 1979, p. 117; Papahatzis 1994–1995, vol. 1, p. 231 n. 2; vol. 5, p. 218 n. 1; Müller and Wieseler 1903, vol. 2, pp. 161–163; Müller 1847–1848, vol. 2, p. 192; Welcker 1857–1862, vol. 1, p. 313; Overbeck [1871–1889] 1969, vol. 1, p. 47; 1893, vol. 1, p. 382; Furtwängler 1893, p. 114 n. 1.

150 On the point that Pausanias might well recognize and point out the chthonic character of a sculpted figure, it can be noted that he shows considerable interest throughout his work in cults and deities of the underworld. For example, in his account (1.28.6) of the homicide court of the Areiopagos and the sanctuary of the Erinyes at Athens he notes there the figures of Ge, Plouton, and Hermes (Psychopompos in that context). He is aware enough of the iconography of attributes to point out in the same passage that Aeschylus was the first to represent the Furies with snakes in their hair, and that in the case of their Athenian sanctuary neither their images nor those of the other chthonic deities show anything terrible.

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we consider the alternatives by themselves, the circumstantial evidence and argument mustered here favor the judgement that the image was simply Zeus.

While treating the specific question of the male figure in the Itonian sanctuary near Koroneia, we should briefly digress to note an alternative idea of Paul-Francois Foucart, that the controversial statue depicted neither Zeus nor Hades but Ares. Because a victory list of the Pamboiotia of the first century BC (*IG* VII 2871) shows that in two instances a horse race started at a statue of Ares (τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρέως [sc. δρόμον]), Foucart envisioned a close relation between Ares and Athena Itonia in this sanctuary and therefore suggested the emendation of Strabo's Ἅιδης to Ἄρης.[151] While this proposal might at first seem attractive because the two images would reflect a logical partnership of male and female deities of war, it has been largely rejected because it presents more problems than it solves. Perhaps the foremost of those is paleographic; Ἅιδης or ᾍδης could be an error for Ἄρης in the abstract, but in this case the error would have to be in a precursor of all the extant codices of Strabo, for they name Hades throughout. Such an error would then be possibly the doing of Strabo or his source. Moreover, as noted above, the texts of both Strabo and Pausanias put the male figure in the temple. A statue of Ares at the starting line of the hippodrome, however, would have been in a spacious open area, likely even outside the sacred ground of the Itonian *temenos*. In short, the notion of a leap of association from that statue to a second one of Ares within the temple is not an economical hypothesis. Finally, Foucart's proposal, while addressing the difficulty of Strabo's Hades, does nothing to explain the *lectio facilior*, Pausanias' attestation of a statue of Zeus.

If we lacked Strabo's reference to Hades and had only Pausanias' testimony that the male statue at the Koroneian sanctuary was the Zeus of Agorakritos, it is likely that there would be little or no discussion about the local character of Itonian Athena beyond her well-attested military attributes. Even if the temple's male figure represented a deity of the underworld, that would not necessarily imply that Athena Itonia shared any of that chthonic character. There

151 Foucart 1885, pp. 430–433, no. 46, line 9: : ἵππ[ῳ] πώλω .....τοῦ Ἀρέως; line 11: ἵππῳ τελέῳ τον....τοῦ Ἀρέως. Cf. Frazer, 1898, vol. 5, p. 169, *contra* Foucart's emendation. Dittenberger (*IG* VII p. 524), citing the analogy of *IG* VII 2727, line 31 (τὸν ὁπλίτην ἀ[π]ὸ τοῦ τροπαίου) commented that the phrase meant nothing more than that a statue of Ares was at the starting line of the hippodrome. Arnold (1934, p. 206) favored the idea of Ares rather than Hades at Koroneia, and Ure (1935, pp. 79–80) suggested that the black-figured lekane (British Museum 80) referred to above (p. 119 and footnote 128) featuring a religious procession with figures of Athena and Ares may have been a depiction of the Pamboiotia at Koroneia. The scene was earlier interpreted as a Panathenaic procession (see Walters 1893, vol. 2, B 80). See also the comments of Ziehen (*RE* XVIII, 3, [1949], cols. 288–289, s.v. Pamboiotia) and Wallace (1979, p. 117) on Foucart's proposal.

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are sufficient examples of gods of the nether world and the upper world who were worshipped in the same sanctuary,[152] but it is also quite conceivable that Agorakritos was engaged to create statues of deities whose only connection was that of daughter and father.[153] Nevertheless, many scholars have not only advocated that the male figure of the ancient testimonia was either Hades, Zeus Chthonios, or some other underworld deity, but also inferred from that or from additional speculation that the Koroneian Athena Itonia shared this chthonic nature as its recipient or originator.

Scholarly attention to Strabo's allusion to Hades at the Koroneian sanctuary has given such prominence to the idea that Athena Itonia also had a chthonic nature, either inherently or by association with a male god of the underworld, that this viewpoint has nearly taken on a life of its own and therefore warrants some extensive exemplification and commentary. Lewis Farnell long ago inferred *a priori* from Strabo's Hades a chthonic Athena Itonia and suggested imaginatively that if her association with the underworld in the Koroneian cult was not a local accident, it may have stemmed from her having attributes of the primitive Athena of Athens who fostered the fertility of the earth.[154] Friedrich Wieseler first offered that the two images were Athena and Sarapis as health gods but later suggested that the male figure was Plouton.[155] Several analysts saw the martial and chthonic elements in the Koroneian cult as arising in sequence and put their origins into one or the other chronological order. That is, the chthonic character was lately imposed on an original military goddess, or that there was a primitive underworld cult in Thessaly or Boiotia that joined or replaced the martial cult of Athena Itonia. Espousing the latter view was Ure who, as noted above, saw in the iconography of Archaic geometricising vases said to be Boiotian an early martial character of the Itonian cult that was

152 E.g., Erichthonios, as the son of Gaia, had a chthonic character but was closely associated with the cult of Athena and other deities on the Athenian Acropolis. Zeus Meilichios had both chthonic and hyperchthonic attributes and his cult had links with terrestrial and celestial deities as well as those of the underworld (Lalonde 2006a, Chs. 3–4).

153 As an accomplished artist and a student of Pheidias, Agorakritos would have been familiar with compositions at Athens and elsewhere of Zeus and Athena as father and daughter. Nonetheless, unless Agorakritos himself dedicated the statues, any semiotics of a particular cult or *epiklêsis* would likely have been decided by the Boiotian commissioners.

154 Farnell [1896–1909] 1977, vol. 1, p. 301.

155 Müller and Wieseler 1854, vol. 2, pp. 161–163; 1903, vol. 2, pp. 161–163. An inscription of the late- second or early-first century BC from Koroneia (*IG* VII 2872) consecrates a manumission to Serapis (*sic*, the later spelling). See Schachter 2016a, Ch. 19, pp. 289–314 for Egyptian cults in Boiotia, including the conclusion (p. 305) that acceptance of Serapis might have been facilitated by the fact that he and Zeus Karaios were thought to be similar to Hades.

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consistent with the testimony of the Archaic poets,[156] but she also resolved Pausanias' Zeus and Strabo's Hades into Zeus Chthonios and suggested that "he may well have been some primitive under-world deity who was on the spot before Itonia came down from Thessaly."[157] Ure, followed by Schachter, interpreted the large snake with Athena in the sacrificial scene of a sixth-century Boiotian lekane as the Zeus-Hades of Koroneia, "the primitive god whom Athena did not quite succeed in dispossessing" and a precursor of the chthonic aspects of the fifth- century figures of Agorakritos at Koroneia.[158] Schachter proposed further that the image of the snake on the lekane might indicate that until Agorakritos created his figures Athena's consort was theriomorphic and so may have been Athena herself as another snake or as a crow.[159] Ure adduced as further evidence of a primitive underworld cult at this site a scene of the sacrifice of a goat on the other side of the same lekane, referring to the animal as "a lesser victim, in honor of the older deity who shared Athena's precinct," obviously the supposed chthonic male god. Finally, Schachter added the omnibus suggestion that this male deity of Koroneia, first manifest as a snake, is later to be identified with "Zeus Caraeus / Ceraeus / Acraeus ('of the mountaintops'), Laphystius ('devourer', describing his character), and Basileus ('king', referring to the range of his powers)," as well as "the ethnic god of the Minyans of Orchomenus and eastern Thessaly (Acraeus and Laphystius east and west of Iolcus respectively)."[160] At the end of her article Ure admitted the overall uncertainty of her interpretation of the scene on the British Museum lekane: "The interpretation here offered rests upon meagre evidence, but so do all earlier attempts at interpreting this curious vase …"[161]

We see another proposition that a chthonic Itonia preceded and ultimately prevailed over her martial persona in the earlier noted theory of Kiechle that Strabo's apparently contrary reports of Achaia Phthiotis and Arne as the Thessalian source of the Boiotian cult indicate in fact two successive

156 See above, p. 119 and footnotes 128–130.

157 Ure 1929, p. 168.

158 Schachter (2016a, p. 41) inferred also from this vase painting that the Itonian cult and sanctuary at Koroneia had by the early-sixth century, if not earlier, a festival, temple, and cult statue of Athena Itonia.

159 Ure 1929, pp. 168–171; Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 119 (and n. 6)–120 (and n. 4); see also *IACP*, s.v. Koroneia p. 445: "The cult is attested on a C6 lekane (Brit. Mus. B80) depicting Athena, her priestess and a serpentine consort, later identified with the chthonic Zeus." Cf. Lagos 2001, p. 8 for the notion that "Agorakritos seems to have transformed the snake into an anthropomorphic image when he created a statue of Zeus (or Hades) alongside that of Athena."

160 *OCD*[4] p. 237, s.v. Boeotia, cults of (A. Schachter).

161 Ure 1929, p. 171.

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migrations and cultic propagations.[162] In this hypothesis the first migration (Strabo 9.5.14 [435]), supposedly took place in early Mycenaean times and brought from Phthiotic Koroneia to Boiotian Koroneia an Itonian goddess similar to Hekate, who, in being matched with Hades, had a persona like that of Persephone.[163] In the migration from Arne after the Trojan War (Strabo 9.2.29 [411]), the Boiotian invaders from Thessaliote Arne brought a martial version of the goddess, who dominated at Koroneia up to the late Archaic period before eventually giving way to the her chthonic predecessor. George Despinis also inferred from Strabo's Hades that the Itonian Athena of the other image had in the beginning attributes of the nether world, noting that the goddess was not warlike, but chthonic, and that this character was, at least in the earliest years, more powerful than any other.[164] Nikolaos Papahatzis allowed that Athena at Koroneia had a chthonic nature, but, somewhat like Kiechle, he looked back to primitive Thessaly for its source, viewing Itonia as originally an Aiolic goddess of the underworld who was only later identified with Athena and took on a military aspect.[165] As noted earlier, however, there is simply no evidence of a chthonic Itonia in Thessaly.[166] With *ignotum per ignotum* logic this chthonic

162 Kiechle 1963, pp. 261–262; see above, pp. 103–104 and footnotes 59–61 for the hypothesis of two separate Boiotian settlements and cults in Koroneia. For the problem of Strabo's contrary accounts of the Thessalian origin of the Boiotian cult, see above, in this chapter, pp. 93–94, 101, and in Chapter One, pp. 38, 62.

163 Kiechle 1963, p. 261 n. 3: "Und dass sie im boiotischen Koroneia dem Hades beigesellt wurde, also gleichsam die Rolle der Persephone übernahm, deutet an, dass der Itonia von Itonos eine Gottheit ähnlich der Hekate-Pheraia, der Stadtgöttin von Pherai (dazu P. Philippson, Thessal. Mythol. 70 ff.) zugrunde lag." While the cults of Hekate and Persephone existed in Thessaly, there is no real evidence of their having any connection with Athena Itonia.

164 Adolf Furtwängler (1893, p. 114 n. 1) considered the possibility that the Albani Athena with a canine headgear might reflect a cult of Itonia and Hades at Koroneia. See also on chthonic Athena at that sanctuary: Despinis 1971, pp. 142–145; Lagos 2001, p. 8: "The statue of Athena Itonia is generally thought to have represented a peaceful deity of chthonic character, unlike the martial depiction of her namesake in Thessaly, from which the Boiotian type originated." Those who think this do not say what in the form of Agorakritos' Athena are the signs of the goddess's peaceful chthonic character, because there is simply no real evidence of what the statue looked like. That Agorakritos made the Itonian Athena after the style of his teacher Phidias or in the manner of his own statue of Nemesis, now known only from a reconstruction from fragments, are also gratuitous inferences (*pace* Lagos, pp. 9–10).

165 Papahatzis 1981, p. 36; 1992, pp. 321–322. In a later publication Papahatzis (1994–1995, vol. 1, p. 231 n. 2) proposed that Agorakritos created the two statues in order to present the local Athena as a chthonic deity and not as the promachos figure that the Thessalians customarily depicted.

166 See above, Chapter One, p. 25 and footnote 69.

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version of the Thessalian goddess is invented to explain the presumed Athena Itonia of the underworld at Boiotian Koroneia. Moreover, these notions of the character of the Boiotian ethnic goddess beg a further unanswered question: If a chthonic nature came with Athena Itonia from Thessaly, was the chthonic nature of the male god at Koroneia independent of hers or was she the source of it?

Another elaborate explication, which shows significant similarities and differences in comparison with the preceding views of Athena Itonia, is that which Spyropoulos included in his summary excavation report on the sanctuary he assigned to her at the north foot of Helikon.[167] He too presumed a chthonic nature of the goddess at Koroneia, but he envisioned this underworld element not as an import from Thessaly, but as stemming from a primitive local earth goddess whose cult together with that of Poseidon at Onchestos was the religious and political focus of an amphictyony of the early Minyans that grew out of the cooperative technology that drained and irrigated the fertile Kopaic Basin. This hypothetical cult of a prehistoric goddess of fertility was supposedly the prototype of the later regional cults of Demeter Thesmophoros and Hades as well as the purported chthonic aspect of Athena Itonia.[168] With a slight variation on the hypothesis of Kiechle, Spyropoulos proposed that in Strabo's account the installation of a martial Athena by invading Boiotians from Arne after the Trojan War was not the original founding of a cult sanctuary at Koroneia. With that installation Athena of the promachos type became prominent in the cult for some time, as the poetry of Alkaios and others shows, but this hypostasis was eventually absorbed and replaced by the original persona of the indigenous chthonic goddess.[169] Although, as noted above,

167 Spyropoulos 1975 [1977], pp. 408–414. For the excavation, see above, pp. 108–110.

168 See Spyropoulos 1975 [1977], p. 410, for the characterization of this prehistoric female deity as a goddess of germination and the mysterious cycle of life and death. On the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros see *IG* VII 2876 (found built into the Church of Agios Athanasios on the slope of the acropolis of ancient Koroneia) for the recording of a repair and dedication in her sanctuary by her priestess Athanadora. Spyropoulos (p. 414), while admitting to misgivings about the boldness of his idea, wondered rhetorically whether the mysteries at Eleusis were the model for those at Koroneia. For the chthonic association of the river Kouralios / Koralios by the Itonian shrine, he (pp. 410–411) resurrected Farnell's (see above, Chapter One, p. 65) etymology in *korê*, but with reference to the primitive Kore of the underworld rather than her supposed successor, Athena Itonia. See also Spyropoulos, p. 410, and reference to Pappadakis 1916 for a further supposed chthonic connection in the shrine of Herakles Charops ("the Bright-Eyed") on Mt. Laphystion, about twenty stades from Koroneia, where the hero was said to have brought Kerberos up from Hades (Paus. 9.34.5).

169 Spyropoulos 1975 [1977], pp. 412–413.

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there remains significant doubt about what god or gods owned the sanctuary that Spyropoulos excavated at Koroneia, his assignment of it to Athena Itonia put much stock in a single small clay sealing from the latest Roman phase of Temple A' as evidence of the site as the Itoneion and its goddess's long-term retention of the character of her primitive chthonic prototype.[170]

As for other iconographic pairings of Athena and a male figure said to replicate the supposed chthonic couple in Boiotia, there is even more doubt about proposed copies of heads of Hades or Zeus Chthonios. For example, there has been little confidence in the recognition of the paired deities of the Boiotian Itoneion in the scene of a carved gemstone in the Florentine Cabinet of helmeted Athena and a male deity, chthonic Zeus, Hades, Plouton or Serapis accompanied by Kerberos, seated on opposite sides of an altar. Especially doubtful in an object of Italian provenance is the idea that the artist of this gem went to Koroneia and carved a representation of the two statues of Agorakritos as they were posed at Koroneia.[171] Kerberos would be a logical, but not ususal, familiar of the chthonic male deities suggested but would probably be more at home with Herakles and the Athena who aided him in his labors.[172] On the uncertainty of this and other such proposed parallels, it can be noted in conclusion that the rest of Greek iconography shows Hades in association with numerous other gods but never with Athena alone, and in the infrequent cases of their

170 Spyropoulos (1975 [1977], pp. 408–409) described the seal (σήμαντρον) as showing in impressed relief a female surrounded by vegetive decorations and wearing a necklace and a helmet with a crest emblazoned with figures of two snakes. He identified the snakes as symbolic of a chthonic male consort of the female, whom he interpreted as Athena Itonia *qua* Persephone. Furthermore, he imagined the turn of the female figure's body and head on the seal as imitating a presumed turning of the head of Agorakritos' statue of Itonia toward the statue of her male partner! It is difficult to get a fair critical sense of this supposedly important piece of evidence, for the publication, while illustrating many insignificant finds, has unfortunately no depiction of the seal.

171 For detailed accounts of the Florentine stone and compelling critiques of its various interpretations as a depiction of Athena Itonia and a chthonic male god, see Müller and Wieseler 1854, vol. 2, pp. 161–163; 1903, vol. 2, p. 226; Müller 1847–1848, vol. 2, p. 192. Cf. Welcker 1857–1862, vol. 1, p. 313, for the claim of the Florentine stone as a replica of Koroneian gods sculpted by Agorakritos; see also Furtwängler 1893, p. 141 n. 1; Overbeck [1871–1889] 1969, vol. 1, pp. 46–49 and fig. 6; 1893, vol. 1, pp. 382–383. Cf. Adler's comment (*RE* IX, 1916, col. 2375, s.v. Itonia) on Overbeck: "Overbeck.... erkennt hier nur die Typen der Götter in freier Komposition; dies mag richtig sein, doch ist sonst von chthonischer Bedeutung dieser Göttin nichts zu spüren." Adler also noted (loc. cit.) that any recognition of Iodama and the cult fire at the Koroneian sanctuary in the gem's female figure's holding a sacrificial bowl over the altar's fire is dubious. For the tale of Iodama and the fire, see below, footnote **XX** and Paus. 9.34.2; also Papahatzis 1992, p. 322.

172 Cf. Pseudo-Apollod. 2.4.11, where Herakles battles the Minyans with weapons from Athena, perhaps Athena Itonia as patron goddess of the *Boiotoi* (Schachter 2016a, p. 44).

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appearance together Athena is just one of a company of gods, mainly in scenes of Hades' rape of Persephone.[173]

It seems fair to conclude from the preceding review of the question of Athena Itonia's character at her cult and sanctuary near Koroneia in Boiotia that there is considerable explicit evidence of the goddess as a military patron, but that, in spite of all the creative hypotheses to the contrary, there is no probative evidence or argument for a chthonic character of this goddess. The only explicit evidence of any chthonic element in the Koroneian sanctuary is Strabo's unique claim, συγκαθίδρυται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὁ Ἅιδης κατά τινα, ὥς φασι, μυστικὴν αἰτίαν, but, besides the tenuousness of this claim, the presumption that the nature of another cult deity in the sanctuary would necessarily attach itself to the Itonian goddess is unwarranted. Attempts to back up this presumption entail proposals either of unproved connections with known chthonic elements such as those of Athena at Athens and of the mysteries at Eleusis or the purely conjectural descent of such elements to Koroneian Itonia from primitive chthonic cults in Thessaly or Boiotia. The very number, variety and inconsistency of arguments for the existence, nature, origin, and chronology of a chthonic Athena Itonia in her cult sanctuary near Koroneia cast serious doubt on any and all of these arguments.[174] A logical corollary of this conclusion is to reject such proposals in favor of Pausanias' testimony that the two works of Agorakritos were images of Athena Itonia and simply Zeus. Without any hint of a chthonic element in that reading, the substantive evidence we have of the character of the Boiotian cult of Athena Itonia shows only the protective martial nature of its Thessalian prototype.[175] Also strong evidence of the character of Athena Itonia at her cult and shrine near Koroneia are the number of well-documented historical events that are strictly military in character. Perhaps more in the realm of ethnic tradition than solid history is the testimony of Polyaenus that the immigrant Boiotians sacrificed to Athena Itonia after their defeat of the Thracians.[176] Clearly historical, however, is the Boiotian defeat of the Athenians in 447 BC at the Battle of Koroneia fought near the Itonian shrine

173 *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 380, no. 76a), s.v. Hades [R. Lindner]: also pp. 382–387, nos. 88–147a, passim.

174 The zeal by which Strabo's naming of Hades has conjured up so many and varied chthonic entities reminds one of Theophrastos' Superstitious Man, who, when he sees snakes, immediately builds hero-shrines in the belief that he has encountered divine theriomorphs from the Underworld.

175 The learned Martin Persson Nilsson (*GGR*[3] p. 716) noted without qualification, „Athena Itonia aus der thessalischen Stadt Iton war zugleich Schutzgöttin des böotischen Bundes." *Ipse dixit* arguments are sometimes rather cogent.

176 Polyaenus 7.43. Nilsson (1906, p. 89 n. 4) inferred from this legend that Boiotian victories were occasions for sacrifice to Athena Itonia as the patron military goddess.

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and the temple in front of which the victors dedicated a trophy in thanksgiving for the aid of the war goddess.[177] That trophy still stood a half century later when Agesilaos II defeated the Thebans at the second Battle of Koroneia and honored Athena Itonia by respecting her sanctuary as an asylum of the routed enemy.[178] Because Antiochos III championed Greece against Rome in 192 BC, the Boiotians set up his image here in the temple of Athena Itonia, and in the following year the Roman consul Glabrio, despite his hostile reaction to the image, chose not to pillage the sanctuary of the war-goddess.[179] These events in evident association with the martial character of the Itonian cult sanctuary and deity have no parallel in historically attested attention to Athena Itonia as goddess of the nether world. To the fact noted above and developed below, that the Hellenistic Pamboiotia were distinctly military in character,[180] it must be added that there is also no evidence of chthonic ritual or association in what we know of that festival then or in any period. The testimonia of the lyric poets to Itonia with martial attributes by the sixth and mid-fifth centuries BC indicate that this part of her character was by then widely developed in the Boiotian *ethnos*. In a final common-sense argument, it must be stressed that the Greek cults of the war gods were, of course, rarely separate from politics. So, it is not surprising that we find in the epigraphic, numismatic, and literary testimonia about the chief goddess of the Boiotian *koinon* a number of texts and fragments about war and politics, but nothing about chthonian matters. It is perfectly understandable that the age-old Boiotian *ethnos* and the eventual Boiotian League throughout their longevity would plausibly choose and retain as a preeminent national deity and patron of a major Panboiotian festival a goddess not of the underworld but of strong military and political character.

6 Iodama

Analysis of the cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Boiotian Koroneia would not be complete without attention to the enigmatic persona of Iodama.[181] The extant testimonia to this female figure are few and varied. In one instance, Byzantine lexicographers, after noting the Thessalian origins of Athena Itonia

177 Thuc. 1.113; Plut. *Ages*. 19.2, *Per*. 18.2–3.

178 Xen. *Hell*. 4.3.16; 4.3.19–20; *Ages*. 2.9–16; Plut. *Ages*. 19.1–2.

179 Livy 36.20.3.

180 See below, pp. 160–162 and footnotes 286–302, for discussion of the distinctly military competitions of the Hellenistic Pamboiotia.

181 See Roscher *Lex*. 2.1, col. 284, s.v. Iodama (W.H. Stoll); *RE* IX, 1916, cols. 1839–1841, s.v. Iodama (J. Gunning); *EAA* IV, 1961, p. 172, s.v. Iodama (B. Conticello).

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in the town of Iton, attribute to the late Archaic poet Simonides of Keos a tale that Athena and Iodama, both as daughters of a hero-king Itonos, quarrel while practicing armed combat, and Athena in a fit of temper kills her sister.[182] A scholion to Pindar preserves a fragment of Lykos, *Περὶ Θηβῶν*, telling that a union of Zeus and Iodama, daughter of Itonos and granddaughter of Amphiktyon, produced Thebe, the consort of Ogygos, the aboriginal ruler of Ogygia, the Boiotian city that was then renamed Thebes.[183] Pausanias draws on a Boiotian saga of quite different detail, including the manner of Iodama's death. In that account Iodama, as priestess of the Itonian cult at Koroneia,[184] goes to the sanctuary at night, experiences an epiphany of Athena, and is turned to stone at the sight of Medusa's head wrought on the goddess's tunic, a story commemorated by a ritual in which a woman each day sets a fire on the altar of Iodama while repeating three times in the Boiotian dialect that Iodama is living and asking for fire.[185] In putting Iodama unambiguously in

182 *Etym. Magn.* p. 479; Tzetz. *ad Lyc.* 355 (Simonides of Keos, *FGrH* 8 F 1); see the text on p. 116 and footnote 115, above. See *LIMC* V. i, 1990, pp. 681–682, s.v. Iodama, no. 1 (commentary, J-R Gisler), for an Attic red-figure amphora from Nola, now in the British Museum (BM E 299), attributed to the Nikon Painter (ca. 480–470 BC), with a scene that has been interpreted as (side B) Iodama fleeing from (side A) Athena who brandishes a spear in one hand and in the other holds an *aphlaston* (the curved poop of a ship with its ornament). The aegis of Athena here lacks the gorgoneion that is crucial to Pausanias' (9.34.2) story of Iodama (for which see below). Gisler notes the alternative interpretation that the *aphlaston* is a trophy and Athena is putting to flight a personification of Asia at the Battle of Salamis; see *CVA*, vol. 5, pl. 52:2b; *ARV*^{2} vol. 1, p. 650, 1; Boardman 1975, p. 195, fig. 366 (side A).

183 Tzetz. *ad. Lyk.* 1206; *Schol.* Pind. *Isthm.* 8.37c (Lykos, *FGrH* 380 F 2): εἰσὶν οὖν οἳ Διός τὴν Θήβην γενεαλογοῦσι, καθάπερ Λύκος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θηβῶν· μετὰ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνος ‹κατακλυσμόν› φησι Δία μιγέντα Ἰοδάμᾳ τῇ Ἰτώνου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος τεκνῶσαι τὴν Θήβην, ἣν δοῦναι Ὠγύγῳ, ἀφ' οὗ Ὠγυγίη ἡ Θήβη ἐκλήθη. See also Paus. 9.5.1. Korinna, fr. 8 (Page 1953, p. 32; Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.1177–1187a [Wendel 1935, pp. 250–251]) where the mythical detail of Ogygos as a son of the eponymous hero Boiotos is an added link of Thebes to the foundation of the Boiotian *ethnos*; see also Larson 2007, pp. 23–24.

184 See Rückert 1829, p. 74, for Iodama as "Volkspriesterin."

185 Paus. 9.34.2: λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε, Ἰοδάμαν ἱερωμένην τῇ θεῷ νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ τέμενος ἐσελθεῖν καὶ αὐτῇ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φανῆναι, τῷ χιτῶνι δὲ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν Μεδούσης ἐπεῖναι τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλήν· Ἰοδάμαν δέ, ὡς εἶδε, γενέσθαι λίθον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτιθεῖσα γυνὴ πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰοδάμας τὸν βωμὸν ἐς τρὶς ἐπιλέγει τῇ Βοιωτῶν φωνῇ Ἰοδάμαν ζῆν καὶ αἰτεῖν πῦρ. Most editors have accepted the reading of MS *β*, αἰτεῖν πῦρ ("asks for fire") but more recently Maria Helena Rocha-Pereira (Teubner 1989) prefers Emperius' αἰθεῖν πῦρ ("kindles fire"). Αἰτεῖν may be preferable on the ground that the presumed request of the heroized Iodama would ensure that the woman, presumably a priestess, would carry out the daily ritual of setting the fire on the altar. On the ritual significance of the Boiotian dialect in the invocation of Iodama, Schachter (2016a, p. 141 n. 16) has noted that it is unlikely that this form of speech still survived in the vernacular of Pausanias' time. See also Schachter (1981–1994,

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Boiotia and noting an altar and ritual of her own, Pausanias indicates that she was by his time, and probably from her beginnings, a peculiarly local cult figure in the Itonian sanctuary near Koroneia.

The fragment of Simonides does not give a *mise-en-scène* for the mythical combat of Athena and Iodama, but, since their father is the legendary Thessalian hero-king Itonos, the story is likely part of a Boiotian tradition that legitimizes Iodama's association with Athena Itonia at Koroneia by giving her indirectly a share in the ethnic goddess's link to Thessaly in the mythical dynasty of Deukalion, Amphiktyon, and Itonos.[186] Similarly the scholion to Pindar probably reflects a tradition of Thebes by which that *polis*, the frequent *hegemon* of the Boiotian *ethnos*, acquired in Thebe an eponymous heroine who brings to the city not only the prestige of her father Zeus but also, through her mother Iodama's mythical descent from Itonos and Amphiktyon, an association with the Thessalian origins of the Itonian cult and its foundation in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia.[187]

Because the testimonia to Iodama are few, brief, and varied in detail and chronology,[188] there is considerable variety in the scholarly interpretation of her nature and her relation to Athena Itonia and the cult and sanctuary at Koroneia.[189] Possible conceptions of Iodama's nature range from god to demigod to a simple mortal who becomes the object of a posthumous hero cult.

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vol. 1, p. 127 and n. 2) for the suggestion that the detail of the fire may reflect a sacred hearth of the late Boiotian League at its federal shrine, and (p. 120 n. 1) that the detail of Iodama's being turned to stone may have been an *aition* to explain an archaic kore at the shrine. Presumably this kore was a statue of Iodama, priestess of Athena, that Schachter (2016a, p. 190) says Pausanias would have seen at the shrine.

186 See above, pp. 90–91 and footnotes 10 and 13, for the mythical association of Itonos with the foundation of the Koroneian cult and for the further confused relation of Itonos as the father (Paus. 9.1.1) and son (Diod. Sic. 4.67.7) of the eponymous hero Boiotos. As noted above in Chapter One, pp. 17–18, Itonos, as a mythical *aition* of Itonia's name, is redundant with the more likely root of her name in the Thessalian town of Iton or Itonos.

187 During the periods when Thebes was the capital city of the Boiotian *ethnos* and *koinon*, it probably exercised considerable authority over the Panboiotian cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia. See below, pp. 145–165, on the question of federal political and religious business at the Itonian sanctuary, including the festival of the Pamboiotia.

188 Though it is not clear to what degree we can equate the Iodamas of Simonides and Pausanias, Papahatzis (1994–1995, vol. 5, p. 218 n. 2) links the two traditions with the observation, "Η ἱέρεια Ἰοδάμα ἦταν κόρη τοῦ γιοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύωνα Ἰτώνου,".

189 At the outset we can dispense with parts of the scholarly history that stray rather far from the evidence. E.g., Otto Gruppe's (1906, p. 59) interpretation of Iodama as a manifestation of Cretan Europa and as a "Heilerin des Volkes," the latter characteristic based on the erroneous etymology of her name in ἰᾶσθαι + δῆμος; against this and in favor of the likely explanation of Iodama's name, see *RE* IX, 1916, cols. 1840–1841, s.v. Iodama (J. Gunning) and below, pp. 136–137 and footnotes 194–197. Also implausible regarding Iodama's nature

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Simonides' story of the combat of Athena and Iodama suggests that the mortal sister also had a martial nature, either acquiring it from Athena or having it as an independent local attribute that facilitated her association with the cult of the war-goddess at Koroneia. Although Iodama of the Simonidean myth need not be thought of as having more than a semi-divine nature, and in the story of Pausanias she seems a priestess who is heroized, in both cases she dies by the agency of Athena and is therefore from the outset subordinate and mortal. Despite her lesser nature, Iodama's doom in the testimonium of Simonides may have drawn on a wider mythical tradition in which Athena kills her alter ego, for Pseudo-Apollodoros in an etiology of the creation of the Palladium tells of Athena's killing of Pallas in a contest of arms very similar to that with Iodama.[190] Either version of Iodama's death combined with the creation of her cult and altar could be an etiology rooted in the psychology of regret and recompense for a mortal priestess's death supposed to have come from the cult goddess.[191]

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is Friedrich Welcker's (1824, p. 208) suggestion that Iodama was goddess of the moon, the equivalent of the Argive "Mondlenkerin" (Governess of the Moon).

190 [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.12.3: φασὶ γεννηθεῖσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρὰ Τρίτωνι τρέφεσθαι, ᾧ θυγάτηρ ἦν Παλλάς· ἀμφοτέρας δὲ ἀσκούσας τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον εἰς φιλονεικίαν ποτὲ προελθεῖν. μελλούσης δὲ πλήττειν τῆς Παλλάδος τὸν Δία φοβηθέντα τὴν αἰγίδα προτεῖναι, τὴν δὲ εὐλαβηθεῖσαν ἀναβλέψαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τρωθεῖσαν πεσεῖν. Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ περίλυπον ἐπ' αὐτῇ γενομένην, ξόανον ἐκείνης ὅμοιον κατασκευάσαι, καὶ περιθεῖναι τοῖς στέρνοις ἣν ἔδειρεν αἰγίδα, καὶ τιμᾶν ἱδρυσαμένην παρὰ τῷ Διί. See Roscher *Lex*. vol. 2.1, col. 284, s.v. Iodama (H.W. Stoll) for Iodama as "eine Nebengestalt der Athene." Regarding the possibility of Athena and Iodama as the same persona, note Schachter's (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 120 and n. 1.) opinion that Iodama's name, "depending on the correctness of the accepted etymology [see below, pp. 136–137, and footnotes 194–197, Ἰοδάμα = Αὐτοδάμα,], could have begun its career not as the name of an independent predecessor of Athena, but rather as a qualitative epithet of the goddess, much like πολεμάδοκος or ἀλαλκομενηΐς / εία." Cf. the interpretation of Walter Burkert (1985. p. 203): "In cult … Iodama lives as the altar of Athena on which the eternal fire burns. Myth has separated into two figures what in the sacrificial ritual is present as a tension."

191 Cf. Jacoby (*FGrH* I 1, p. 478) on the general purpose of the testimonia about Iodama: "(1) rationalisierung (?) der kultlegende des tempels der *Ἀθηνᾶ Ἰτωνία* von Koroneia." Papahatzis (1994–1995, vol. 5, p. 218 n. 2) was likely right to reject as unwarranted by the MS tradition editorial attempts to clarify Pausanias' story by substituting ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰτωνίας τὸν βωμὸν for ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰοδάμας τὸν βωμὸν. Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 120), however, accepted the emendation, as he viewed Iodama as Pausanias' "γυνή, who lit the fire every day on the altar of Itonia." An altar of Itonia would suit Schachter's other suggestion that this was the hearth of the Boiotian *koinon*, but the combined hypotheses of Iodama as both the active priestess (the γυνή) and the subject of a stone statue in the shrine (see above, pp. 133–134 and footnote 185) seem to complicate the scene unduly. Susan Deacy (2008, pp. 130–131) put Pausanias' tale of Iodama's fate in a class of myths in which the goddess punishes women who defile her sanctuaries, but it is hard to impute guilt to Iodama from any detail

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It was probably inevitable that Iodama would be brought into association with the supposed elements of the underworld and fertility in the cult of Athena Itonia near Boiotian Koroneia.[192] Such a link apparently underlay Papahatzis's reference to unnamed scholars who, looking for symbolism in the myth of the priestess and the fire (Paus. 9.34.2), took Iodama as a personification of the germinating force in nature that sleeps but does not die during the winter and rises again with the heat of springtime. Papahatzis amplified this allegorical interpretation with the detail that the daily fire and the chant that Iodama is alive and needs heat were parts of a ritual intended to hurry her awakening.[193] Even if we trust that Pausanias' report reflects a real ritual at the Itonian sanctuary, to take that ritual as a metaphor for the regenerative powers of nature is an imaginative reach. But the validity of that step is also predicated on the likelihood of a chthonic element in the Boiotian sanctuary and cult of Athena Itonia, and, as argued above, the case for that element is a web of conjectures spun entirely from Strabo's unique reference to a statue of Hades at the site.

Scholarship in the pursuit of the origin and character of Iodama and her relation to the cult of Boiotian Athena Itonia has also looked to the meaning of her name. Jan Gunning, in his brief survey of proposed etymologies of Ἰοδάμα,[194] rightly rejected as linguistically improbable any derivation from words beginning with ἰα-, including ἰᾶσθαι + δῆμος.[195] With equal right Gunning favored an etymology of the second part of Iodama's name in δάμνυμι and, by analogy with such names as Ἰόλαος and Ἰοκάστη, the root of the first part of her name in the pronominal stem ϝι- ϝιο (cf. ϝιν "him", ϝιΐδιος [ἴδιος], "own", "particular"),[196]

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of the testimonia, unless in a Calvinistic mode of divine justice the mortal or demigod is damned *nolens volens* by virtue of her infinite inferiority; cf Artemis' killing of Aktaion, but he was, willy-nilly, a voyeur.

192 See above, pp. 120–132, on the question of chthonic entities at Koroneia.

193 Papahatzis 1994–1995, vol. 5, p. 218 n. 2. See also Spyropoulos 1975 [1977] for the opinion that his primitive and chthonic city goddess (see above, pp. 109, 114, 129–130 and footnotes 81, 109, 169–170) was also Iodama; cf. *RE* IX, 1916, col. 2375, s.v. Itonia (A. Adler), with regard to the notion of a chthonic Athena Itonia, "Aus der Verbindung mit Iodama, kann sie nicht erschlossen werden." Ure (1929, pp. 169–170) associated Iodama less directly with chthonic elements in her analysis of a scene on a sixth-century lekane in the British Museum as derived from the Pamboiotia. In that interpretation, Athena Itonia stands by a flaming altar to receive the festival sacrifice, while behind her rises a huge snake, an image of the Zeus-Hades of Koroneia, and "Approaching the altar is a priestess, a sixth-century Iodama, dressed like Athena in a peplos and bearing a tray."

194 *RE* IX, 1916, cols. 1840–1841, s.v. Iodama (J. Gunning); Pape 1880–1911, vol. III.1, p. 553, s.v. Ἰοδάμα.

195 E.g. by Gruppe (1906, p. 59; see above, pp. 134–135 and footnote 189).

196 Meister 1882–1889, vol. 1, p. 255; Fick 1874, p. 39, s.v. *Io-*.

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a synonym of αὐτό-. Thus, as Ἰόλαος = Αὐτόλαος, so Ἰοδάμα is the equivalent of Αὐτοδάμα, that is, "the one who rules by herself."[197] In that case, since military and political powers were the chief attributes of Athena Itonia as a patron goddess of the Boiotian *ethnos* and *koinon*, Iodama was by her relationship to Athena, and probably also by the etymology of her name, a strong, militant, and political goddess, demigod, or heroine of the Koroneian locale and thus a logical associate of Athena Itonia. If we can trust that Simonides' Iodama reflects a contemporary cult figure in the Itonian sanctuary near Koroneia, then her cult was at least about as early as the militant Itonia noted by the poets of the late Archaic period. There is no evidence, however, to indicate whether such a cult preceded the arrival of Athena at the site or later grew out of, or was added to, a preexisting Itonian cult and sanctuary.

7 Functions of the Boiotian Itoneion

7.1 *Introduction*

Because, as noted earlier in this chapter, the date of the establishment of the Boiotian sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia is lost in prehistory and the identification of its site is still an open question, the early history of the cult and shrine are largely matters of speculation based on scattered literary references and inscriptions of later date.[198] The general location of the sanctuary near Koroneia in the southwest part of the Kopaic Basin may be due to its foundation in an early stage of the migration from Thessaly, before the Boiotians completed the west-to-east conquest and settlement of the region that took their name. Further evidence of this may be the fact that the site near Koroneia, though it may have been the focus of a regional amphictyony in the western Kopaic basin and on the main west-east route through Boiotia, was hardly a central location for Boiotia as a whole, and so its eventual choice for an ethnic and federal shrine was less likely a matter of accessibility than of early sanctity and the role of Athena Itonia as the military goddess of the immigrant Boiotians.[199] As, according to the testimony of Pausanias, the Itoneion

197 The masculine form is attested (Bechtel-Fick 1894, p. 76: *Αὐτόδαμος Πελλανεύς*). See above, p. 135 and footnote 190, for Schachter's (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 120 and n. 1.) view that this etymology may indicate that Iodama was a qualitative epithet of the Itonian goddess.

198 For the chronology and location of the Boiotian Itoneion, see above, pp. 105–110 and footnotes 64–85.

199 Cf. Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 127: "It was probably a mixture of sentiment, tradition, and folk memory, that led to the selection of the Itoneion as a federal religious centre."

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was topographically separate from Koroneia,[200] so history indicates that the sanctuary had an importance that was quite independent of the nearby *polis* center. The fact that Koroneia was eventually grouped together with Haliartos and Lebadeia to form just one of the eleven districts of the Boiotian League may be indicative of its modest status relative to that of the Itonian sanctuary.[201] Also indicative of the importance of the Itoneion beyond its immediate locale is the fact that in the late Classical period the sanctuary continued to flourish after the conquest of the nearby *polis* of Koroneia by Onomarchos of Phokis in 353/2 BC and after Koroneia's *andrapodismos* when Philip II of Macedon handed the city over to the Thebans in 346 BC[202] Was the Boiotian Itoneion in the beginning simply an isolated foundation reflecting the devotion of a single group of immigrants, which would only later have an ethnic focus, or did its founders already have from their common descent from Thessaly, their new shared territory, and their cult, dialect, and culture a sense of the larger Boiotian *ethnos* and were intentionally establishing a sanctuary that was at least in a primitive and partial sense Panboiotian?[203] In either case, as Emily Mackil has emphasized, the worship of Athena Itonia at Koroneia would have evolved with the wider Boiotian *ethnos* in a reciprocal relationship by which shared activities, such as trade, politics, and military alliances, would have encouraged shared rituals at the Itonian shrine, which in turn would have led to further collective enterprises beyond the religious sphere.[204]

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200 See above, pp. 105–106, and footnote 67.

201 On Koroneia, see *IACP*, pp. 444–445. On the divisions of the Boiotian League, see the basic primary source, *Hell. Oxy*. (ed. M. Chambers 1993) Ch. 19, and particularly 19.3 for the district comprising Lebadeia, Koroneia, and Haliartos; see Bruce 1967, for commentary on the *Hell. Oxy*.; see also Larsen 1968, pp. 26–40, 175–180; *RE* Suppl. 12, 1970, cols. 383–426, s.v. *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia* (H.R. Breitenbach). Cf. Schachter 2016a, p. 64, for the view that the original number of boiotarchies and districts was not eleven, but seven, and that "it was raised to eleven as part of the attempt to produce a more equitable distribution of rights and powers when the federated state was constituted following the battle of Koroneia."

202 For Thebes see *IACP*, pp. 454–457. For the political history of Boiotia, primarily of Thebes, see Cloché 1952; Roesch *Éb.* Phokian conquest and occupation: Ephoros, *FGrH* 70 F 94a; Diod. Sic. 16.35.2; Dem. 19.148; Diod. Sic. 16.58.1. *Andrapodismos* and subordination to Thebes: Dem. 5.22; 6.13; 19.112, 325. Koroneia had been an early ally of Thebes (Hdt. 5.79.2) and was a member of the Boiotian League in its first (*Hell. Oxy.* Ch. 19 ed. M. Chambers 1993), second (Diod. Sic. 16.35.3), and third (*CID* II 74.50) formations.

203 See above, pp. 92–93 and footnote 20, for the view of Schachter that if Pindar's reference to festival games (see above, pp. 91–92 and footnote 17 for the text, *Parth.* II, fr. 94 b, lines 41–49) is not evidence of a national Itoneion, then the earliest extant written evidence is the publication there of an interstate treaty of ca. 290 BC (*IG* IX 1^2 170).

204 Mackil 2013, p. 163.

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We have already referred to the hypothesis that the cult sanctuary of Athena Itonia was early in its existence the center of a religious amphictyony of villages and districts in the region, an institution that evolved further with the eastward expansion to become a religious focus of all of settled Boiotia.[205] Such an Itonian amphictyony would likely have had a prototype festival and an organization of regional religious representatives that may have become the model for the organization of a Boiotian tribal state ruled by minor nobles (*basileis*), which with the growth and development of independent cities eventually evolved into the *sympoliteia* with representative *boule* and archons (boiotarchs) that by about the mid-fifth century became the Boiotian League.[206] In that scenario the cult of a martial Athena Itonia would have had a natural coherence with the evolution of military and political unity in the Boiotian *ethnos*. Thus, despite sporadic conflicts in the sixth and fifth centuries among Boiotian *poleis* and with external foes,[207] the importance of the cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia in ethnic religion would have grown *pari passu* with the government.[208] Thus, understanding the chronological and circumstantial relation of the Boiotian people to the cult of Athena Itonia depends to some extent on knowledge of the chronology of the evolution of an ethnic identity

205 On the idea of an early amphictyony, see Spyropoulos 1973b, p. 392; R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 90, 100, 124; see also above, pp. 92–93, and footnote 20. Whether or not Pindar's statement that the Theban equestrian victor Agasikles and his parents had been honored in the past and present by their neighbors (*Parth.* 11, fr. 94 b, lines 41–43: τί/μαθεν γὰρ τὰ πάλαι τὰ νῦν / τ'ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν) implies a formal religious amphictyony centered at the Itoneion, it clearly indicates a festival and games that enrolled participants from rather far afield in Boiotia; see Mackil 2014, p. 52, including the view that by the time of Pindar's testimony around the mid-fifth century, "the cult of Athena Itonia was now imbued with Panboeotian significance by myth as well as by rituals that drew participants from throughout the region."

206 See Schachter 2016a, pp. 175–192, on the influence of religious cult in the formation of the Boiotian nation, and particularly pp. 179–181 on the influence of the cult of Athena Itonia.

207 Boiotian history shows that there was a chronic tension between the independent *poleis* and the formation of collective political organization or subordination to a hegemony. As Schachter (2016a, p. 17) has noted, "A federation is at best a compromise, and, like all compromises, represents a failure to bury particular differences in the interests of a higher unity." In the same work, Schachter (pp. 175–176, with reference to Morgan 1990, pp. 7–16) cites Boiotia as an example of the fusion of ethnic and political elements and having an identity defined by specific territory, shared dialect, worship of the same cult deities, and common modes of government.

208 With reference to Boiotian cult, including that of Athena Itonia, there is abundant recent scholarship on religious myth, cult sanctuaries, ritual, festivals, and games, as strong motive forces in the formation and maintaining of Boiotian collective identity; see, e.g., Larson 2007; Kowalzig 2007; Mackil 2014, pp. 45, 47–50, 60–63; Beck 2014, pp. 20–23, 41.

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and the formation of a political and military league based on that identity.[209] A *terminus ante quem* for some form of Boiotian corporate identity has been inferred from two episodes in the sixth century BC, the Boiotian defeat of a Thessalian invasion under Lattamyas at Keressos and the unsuccessful attempt of Thebes to keep Plataia under its hegemony and away from alliance with Athens.[210] A similar inference of Boiotian organization and Theban aspirations to its leadership has been made from Herodotus' report that Thebes summoned a ἁλίη (perhaps a council of Boiotians) shortly after the fall of the Peisistratids to interpret an oracle about how to retaliate against the Athenians.[211] Likewise,

209 See Schachter 2016a, pp. 51–65, for a good recent account of alliances and other successive and interrelated unifying factors among the Boiotian *poleis* that eventually led to the full-fledged political *koinon* as described by the Oxyrhynchus Historian.

210 See R.J. Buck 1972 for the argument that the Thessalian invasion and the formation of the Boiotian League were associated, both occurring ca. 520 BC; see also R.J. Buck 1979, p. 106 and nn. 2–5. Lattamyas and Keressos: Plut. *de Hdt. mal.* 33 = *Mor.* 866 E-F; *Cam.* 19; Paus. 9.14.2–3; Beck 2014, p. 28 and n. 22; see also Buck 1979, pp. 107–110 (A long-standing friendship of Thessaly and Orchomenos and the early and long rivalry of the latter with Thebes may have been a motive in the Thessalian invasion.), 111–112, 173 ("Whether the federation was formed under Thessalian threats, or whether Thessalian forces invaded to dissolve a new and dangerous alliance remains unknown."). For Keressos and its undetermined date, probably in the early sixth century, see Mackil 2013, p. 24 and n. 14; Schachter 2016a, p. 45 and n. 36. On the Plataian episode, see Hdt. 6.108; Thuc. 3.61.2; 3.68.5; Moretti 1962, pp. 105–108; Larsen 1968, pp. 29–30; Buck 1979, pp. 107, 112 (for the disputed date [520/19 or 509] of the Athens-Plataia alliance); *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 571, s.v. federal states (J.A.O. Larsen and P.J. Rhodes). *IACP*, pp. 449–451, no. 216, s.v. Plataia. The Plataian affair and other events of the late-sixth century show that Thebes was not yet the hegemonic force it would soon become; see Larsen 1968, p. 30.

211 Hdt. 5.79. In this meeting of about 505 BC the *halia* first interprets the oracle's advice to consult "those nearest to you" erroneously and geographically as referring to Boiotian *poleis* as distant from Thebes as Koroneia. Herodotus' (9.15.1) boiotarchs who medize with Mardonios have been interpreted as evidence of a full-fledged Boiotian *koinon* (see, e.g. R.J. Buck 1979, p. 124; Waterfield 1998, p. 724, note of Carolyn Dewald on Hdt. 9.12–18, with reference to *CAH*[2] IV, p. 358 n. 11 [L.H. Jeffery]), but more likely their mention is anachronistic (Jacoby, *FGrH* III *Kommentar* 162; Demand 1982, p. 18) or at least inconclusive regarding Boiotian organization (Mackil 2014, pp. 50–51 and n. 20). Pausanias (10.20.3) mentions boiotarchs at the Battle of Thermopylai, but these must have been self-appointed Thebans rather than leaders of an organized Boiotian League; see Larson 2007, pp. 172–173; cf. Larsen 1968, pp. 31–32. The earliest epigraphic attestation of the office of boiotarch may be that found on an inscribed bronze tablet dated loosely to the first half of the fifth century BC; see Aravantinos 2014, pp. 199–202; Mackil 2014, pp. 50–51 and n. 20. Schachter (2016a, p. 53) speculated that the office might have existed even earlier. The early Boiotian *halia* may have been the forerunner of what Thucydides (5.38.2) describes seven decades later in the certain Boiotian League as "the Four Councils" (ταῖς τέσσαρσι βουλαῖς), that is, a system of four sub-councils, one of which would be always present on the Kadmeia at Thebes to ensure continuity of governance; see *Hell. Oxy.* Ch. 19 (ed.

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Thucydides refers to an ancestral political union of all the Boiotians at the time of Theban aggression against Plataia.[212] While these events and testimonia are the earliest extant evidence of cooperation among Boiotian *poleis* and thus of some degree of shared ethnic and regional identity,[213] they have been variously interpreted as representing some form of federal league, either a formal *koinon* or its prototype, or a *symmachia* of the Boiotians.[214] Thebes had a particular political and military influence among the Boiotian cities as early as the Archaic period[215] and was destined to become the most frequent *hegemon* or capital city of the collective Boiotians, but this status is obscure until the late-sixth century. Despite considerable early, and even some current, scholarly argument that Thebes was the leader of a formal political and military *koinon* as early as the late Archaic period, currently the stronger consensus is that the earliest Boiotian League authenticated by adequate description in an ancient literary source was that constituted after the Battle of Koroneia in 447/6 BC.[216]

M. Chambers 1993); *FGrH* 66, F 1.12.2; Gomme, *HCT* 5.38.2; Hornblower, *CT* 5.38.2; Larsen 1955, p. 41; Roesch 1965b, pp. 99, 123–124; Moretti 1962, pp. 143–144; R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 125, 157; Schachter 2016a, p. 53.

212 Thuc. 3.66.1: τὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια πολιτεύειν; 3.65.2: τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια. For a summary history of scholarship about Boiotian collective organization in the period of the Pentakontaetia, see Amit 1971.

213 See, e.g., Kalliontzis 2014, pp. 342–345, for "the significance of Plataia as a 'lieu de mémorie'."

214 For other evidence of collaboration among the Boiotian *poleis* in the sixth century, see *IACP*, pp. 431–432. On the evolution of ethnic states to federal states, including the view of a Boiotian League, either a formal *koinon* or its prototype, in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries, see Larsen [1955] 1966, Ch. 2, pp. 22–46; Roesch 1965b, pp. 34–36 (tentatively); Larsen 1968, pp. 3–11; 26–40; Ducat 1973, pp. 59–73 (esp. p. 72, sections 1 and 3); R.J. Buck 1979, Chs. 6–9; Knoepfler 1992, p. 422; Maffoda 2000, pp. 101–102. A Boiotian *symmachia*: Busolt-Swoboda, p. 1412; Ducat 1973, pp. 59–73; Tausend 1992, pp. 26–34; *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 571, s.v. federal states (J.A.O. Larsen and P.J. Rhodes): "The earliest evidence of a federal state is in (probably) 519 BC, when Plataea resisted incorporation in a Boeotian federal state dominated by Thebes and gained the protection of Athens (Hdt. 6.108); there are references to boeotarchs, the chief magistrates of the federation, in 480–479 (Paus. 10.20.3; Hdt. 9.15.1). The federation may have broken up after the Persian Wars, and for a time Boeotia was controlled by Athens, but it was revived after 446 and we have evidence for its basic mechanisms (Thuc. 5.38.2; *Hell. Oxy*. Ch. 19, [ed Chambers 1993])." Cf. Mackil 2014, pp. 50–51, for the view that attempts at hegemony by Thebans and their "boiotarchs" in the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries were thwarted, in the latter period by Theban medism and by Athenian domination of Boiotia for ten years after the Battle of Oinophyta in 457 BC.

215 Ehrenberg 1960 [1964], p. 123; see also above, pp. 91–92, 140–141 and footnotes 16–20, 183, 210–215.

216 The federal constitution of 446 BC with later elements that favored Theban control is the system described by *Hell. Oxy*. Ch. 19 (ed. Chambers 1993); see also R.J. Buck 1979, p. 154;

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A corollary of that argument is the rejection of the once popular idea that late-sixth- and early-fifth-century coinage of the Boiotian *poleis* with the common type of the cutout shield was the product of a central mint and evidence of a fully developed federation.[217] In sum, the surest *terminus post quem* for the formal political and military League of the Boiotians, and thus participation of their entire *ethnos* in the cult of Athena Itonia, is close to the middle of the fifth century BC. Before that time the references of the Archaic and early Classical poets to the Itonian cult at Koroneia, and particularly Pindar's testimony to Itonian games of the mid-fifth century and earlier, indicate that by the late Archaic period the Itonian cult, sanctuary, and festival were a religious focus of a significant portion of the common Boiotian *ethnos* as well as of independent groups and individuals,[218] but the Itoneion became a religious center of the political and military League only when that union was formally constituted around 447/6 BC.[219]

Larsen 1968, pp. 33–40; Bruce 1967, pp. 157–164. This phase of the Boiotian League is also our clearest example of representative government in early Greece (Larsen [1955] 1966, p. 31). The scholarship of Mogens Herman Hansen and others has argued effectively for the middle of the fifth century as the starting point of an organized political and military Boiotian League; see *IACP*, p. 432 (where Hansen noted the verifiable chronology of the Boiotian League as First Federation [446–386], Second Federation [378/4–338], and Third Federation [338–171]); Hansen 1995, pp. 13, 30–31 and n. 89; Hansen 1996, pp. 73–116; see Larson 2007, pp. 165–188, for a thorough and succinct re-evaluation of the question of the early chronology and history of the Boiotian *koinon*, including the arguments that neither Herodotus' references to Βοιωτοί and βοιοτάρχαι in the context of events of the late-sixth or early-fifth centuries (pp. 168–173) nor Thucydides' account of the alienation of Plataia from Thebes in the last quarter of the sixth century (pp. 174–182) indicate any formal political and military federation of the Boiotians. See also Mackil's (2014) sketch of the history of the Boiotian unity from the first evidence of a distinct regional identity in the late Archaic period to the formal *koinon* of the Classical and Hellenistic period and its dissolution by the Romans in 171 BC.

217 For Boiotian coinage, see above, pp. 117–119, footnotes 117–126, and Figs. 24–31. See Larsen 1968, pp. 29, 31–32, for doubt that the troops of Boiotian *poleis* at Thermopylai represented a developed confederacy, and the added statement (p. 32) that "Otherwise the chief evidence for the existence of a confederacy is the coinage." See also Ducat 1973, pp. 61–62, 71–72; Buck 1979, pp. 107–120 (esp. p. 117); Siewert 1985, pp. 298–299. Against the argument that the early Boiotian coinage signifies unified political or military organization, see Schachter 1989, p. 85; Hansen 1996; Larson 2007, pp. 166–167.

218 For Pindar (*Pae. Parth.* II, fr. 94 b, lines 41–49), see above, pp. 91–92 and footnote 17. The reference to the Itoneion by Pindar and other poets of the late Archaic period are partly the basis of Larson's (2007, esp. pp. 189–190) view that the common relationship of the Boiotians of the sixth century was chiefly religious. See Mackil 2014, p. 52, for this fragment of Pindar's *dapnephorikon* as part of the evidence that the cult of Athena Itonia was by the mid-fifth century "imbued with Panboeotian significance."

219 From the mid- to late-fifth century BC a group of significant events and testimonia regarding Boiotia referred to passim in this work, some of them directly related to the cult and

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7.2 *General Use of the Itoneion*

The function of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Boiotian Koroneia as an important religious center of the collective Boiotian *ethnos* and later its formal *koinon* would have stimulated regular use of the sanctuary by independent *poleis*, gentilitial groups, families, and individual worshippers, and this worship of independent entities would have reciprocated by furthering the sense of collective Boiotian identity.[220] As in most cult shrines of the Greeks, day-to-day general access to the Itonian *temenos* allowed individuals and groups to get or maintain by prayer, sacrifice, and dedicatory offerings, a perceived relationship with the supernatural, not just with regard to the military and political purviews of Athena Itonia but on a wide variety of issues which were thought to involve forces beyond the human empirical realm. As a large and important *hieron* with a temple, the Itoneion would have had for its operations and maintenance a regular staff, including most notably a priestess of the cult

sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia, have been considered parts of a renewal of political activity and expressions of collective identity associated with the establishment of the first formal Boiotian League as attested in the *Hell. Oxy*. Ch. 19 (ed. M. Chambers 1993), and thus the Itonian cult as a focus of federal religion: the liberation of Boiotia from Athenian rule by the victory at Koroneia in 447 BC; the cooperative coinage of the period as a reflection of renewed regional power; Pindar's allusion (*Parth.* II, fr. 94 b, lines 41–49) to the equestrian victories of the Theban Agasikles and his ancestors at Itonia's temple; the testimony of Thucydides (1.12.3) to a logographic tradition of Boiotian migration; Agorakritos' creation of the bronze images of Athena Itonia and Zeus for the Itoneion shrine (Paus. 9.34.1–2). Emily Mackil (2013, pp. 193–194) posits an even closer and more explicit linkage of these events, suggesting that the Boiotians viewed their liberation from the Athenians in 447 BC as the result of divine assistance from the nearby Itonian warrior-goddess, who was thus endowed with an unprecedented Panboiotian status and inspired the heightened sense of a common *ethnos* and the cooperation among the Boiotian *poleis* that led to the first complete *koinon*, the unified regional state. The victory of 447 may also have been inspiration for mythology about the foundation of the cult sanctuary near Koroneia, including the tradition that surfaces in Polyaenus that the invading *Boiotoi* sacrificed there to Athena Itonia after their defeat of the Thracians. On these military, political and religious connections, see also Larson 2007, passim; Mackil 2014, pp. 51–52; Schachter 2016a, p. 186.

220 See Mackil 2014, pp. 47–48, 50, 52, 59–63, for shared religious ritual as a superior social factor in the development of the identities of individual Boiotian local communities (chiefly *poleis*) and of the Boiotian *ethnos* and *koinon*; cf. Beck 2014, especially pp. 22–23, 32–35, for the theory that these developments are essentially one and the same process. Interactive participation in the cult rituals and festival of Athena Itonia was both a cause and an effect of collective identity. For the special collective importance of the sanctuaries of Athena Itonia, Poseidon at Onchestos, Apollo Ismenios, and Apollo Ptoios, see Mackil 2013, pp. 157–173.

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goddess.[221] Pausanias' account of Iodama as a priestess at the Koroneian shrine before her death and heroization and of her ritual flame tended by a woman, presumably a priestess or sanctuary attendant, reads like a folk tradition, but the tale may well have been an etiological myth of the historical reality of activity and officialdom at the sanctuary.[222] For its dealings with the Itonian sanctuary each *polis* had its own archon, a magistrate who originally had political and military responsibilities but by the fifth century had become largely a religious official.[223] For individuals and groups who lived in the vicinity of the Itoneion, including the population of Koroneia, the Itoneion would have been convenient for a variety of religious matters, and individuals and groups farther afield in Boiotia would have made the shrine a destination of pilgrimage, especially for religious issues that concerned the military attributes of Athena Itonia but were independent of the collective Boiotian government. Nor were all the devotions in this sanctuary likely directed to Athena. In many Greek shrines worship was given to a variety of gods related or unrelated to the chief deity of the *temenos*, and Pausanias' observation of the images of Zeus and the Charites in the Itoneion of Koroneia as well as his story of Iodama suggest that the shrine had cults of gods and demigods that were subsidiary or unrelated to that of Athena Itonia.[224] In concluding this discussion of the general and independent use of the Itoneion we should note that, like most Greek sanctuaries, it was a sacred domain that was a place of asylum. Both

221 Cf. below, p. 150 and footnote 243, for the late-Roman funerary inscription of a federal high priestess of the Itonian cult, which was probably a special office particular to the Boiotian federation and perhaps distinct from the office of a priestess in regular attendance at the day-to-day operation of the cult sanctuary.

222 Paus. 9.34.1–2. On Iodama, see above, pp. 132–137.

223 Roesch 1965b, p. 158; R.J. Buck 1979, p. 160.

224 Evidence of the variety of worship, both by independent *poleis* and the federation, at the Itoneion near Koroneia is limited by the uncertainty of its location and the fact that its extant inscriptions were found scattered. Nevertheless, the Itoneion excavated near Philia in Thessaly, also a federal sanctuary in its late history, may be an instructive analogue. Many of the numerous small finds from the Philia site are of a military and feminine nature and thus suitable to Athena Itonia as a female god of war, but many others, some of them doubtless dedications, lack this obvious connection to the chief deity of the shrine. See above, Chapter One, pp. 28–29, and Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002 and 2005. Perhaps indicative that the Philia shrine was also analogous to that near Koroneia in not serving Athena Itonia alone is the fact that the inscription which most commentators agree identifies the Itoneion at Philia also mentions "the other gods"; see above, Chapter One, pp. 68–69, and Habicht 1976, p. 179, lines 20–21: ...τῆι Ἀθη[νᾶι / [τῆι Ἰτωνίᾳ]ι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς. Alternatively, "and the other gods" may simply have been a standard formula to maintain the good graces of any deity besides the chief recipient of the sacrifice. For examples of multiple and subsidiary cult deities in an Athenian sanctuary devoted primarily to Zeus, see Lalonde 2006a, pp. 41 (n. 5), 81–93.

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Xenophon and Plutarch record that after the Battle of Koroneia in 394 BC the Spartan king Agesilaos II out of respect for Athena Itonia ordered that the defeated Thebans who had taken refuge in her sanctuary near the Spartan camp were to be unharmed and that his cavalry should escort them to safety, wherever they wished to go.[225] An inscription found at Delphi shows that in 266/65 or 262/261 BC[226] its amphictyony extended special protection and honor to the *hieron* of Athena Itonia in Koroneia by formally decreeing it to be *asylon*.[227] In this context it is worth referring again to the Roman consul Manius Acilius Glabrio who respected the sanctuary of Athena Itonia even though it held the statue of his defeated enemy Antiochos.[228]

7.3 *The Boiotian League's General Relations with the Itoneion*

Throughout their history the collective Boiotian people had centers of political and military leadership in capital cities and cult sanctuaries that were the special focus of ethnic or federal religion. Though it is unknown exactly when the Boiotians first developed a collective identity and a common devotion to the cult of Athena Itonia at Koroneia, it is certain that that devotion, first by their *ethnos* and later their *koinon*, gave an importance to the Itonian cult and sanctuary that transcended anything that came from the independent devotion of *poleis*, other groups, and individuals.[229] The cult of Athena Itonia at her sanctuary near Koroneia, along with the cults of Poseidon at Onchestos and Athena at Alalkomenai, was one of the chief religious foci of the Boiotian *ethnos* and *koinon*.[230] There is somewhat limited knowledge about when, how often, and for what purposes members of the League's districts and *poleis* or

225 Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.16; 4.3.19–20; Plut. *Ages.* 19.1; Paus. 3.9.13. Polyaenus (*Strat.* 2.1.5) imputes to Agesilaos' mercy the practical motive that it would be dangerous to force the suppliant Thracians from the Itoneion, for they would then return to the fight out of desperation. For this battle, see also Pritchett 1965–1992, II, pp. 85–95.

226 266/65 BC (Bousquet 1958); 262/261 BC (Étienne and Piérart 1975).

227 *FdD* III 4, pp. 27–28, no. 358 (pl. 5, A); *SEG* XVIII 240; Bousquet 1958, pp. 74–77. Pouilloux (*FdD, loc. cit.*) added a question mark to Bousquet's restoration in line 14 of Koroneia as the recipient sanctuary ([ἐγ Κορωνείαι ἄσυ]λον εἶναι), suggesting that the decree could refer to the Thessalian Itoneion. Rigsby (1996, pp. 55–56), however, agreed with Bousquet that the decree concerned the sanctuary in Boiotia because it was the only part of mainland Greece known to have obtained *asylia*. In this regard Mackil (2013, p. 224 n. 286) called attention to passages of Polybios (4.3.5; 4.25.2; 9.34.11) that suggest that in the late-third century "the Itoneion near Koroneia had both *asylia* and the sacred truce for the Pamboiotia."

228 Livy 36.20.3.

229 See Beck 2014, pp. 35–41.

230 Pindar (*Parth.* II, fr. 94 b, lines 41–49) celebrates Theban equestrian victories at both Onchestos and Koroneia (see pp. 91–92 and footnote 17, above, for the text), and later both

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their representatives met at the sanctuary near Koroneia aside from the celebration of the Pamboiotia. Since the ancient Greeks had nothing like the American concept of the separation of church and state, and particularly since Athena Itonia was a divine patron of Boiotia's political and military organization, we should not imagine an inflexible division in which the Itoneion was an exclusively religious venue of the Boiotian *ethnos* and *koinon* but all other matters of state were handled elsewhere. It may be, however, that the Itoneion was for a long time mainly a religious capital and that most political business was handled at the hegemonic city, usually Thebes, or in the Hellenistic period at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos,[231] and that with the loss of Greek power under the Romans, the Itoneion became a political as well as religious center of the Boiotians, this last state of affairs reflected in the words of Pausanias (9.34.1) that it is at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia that the Boiotians come together for their common assembly (καὶ ἐς τὸν κοινὸν συνίασιν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σύλλογον).[232] The Periegete's use of the adjective *koinon* seems to indicate a federal session, but as the term *syllogos* covers various types of meetings, the nature of this gathering is not obvious. Pausanias' expression would suit the gathering for the Pamboiotia,[233] but he was probably implying more

sanctuaries were locations for the publication of importance business of the Boiotian federation (see below, p. 148 and footnote 238).

231 Strabo (9.2.33 [412]) likely had in mind this political center of the Boiotian League with his statement, Ὀγχηστὸς δ' ἐστίν, ὅπου τὸ Ἀμφικτυονικὸν συνήγετο.

232 This scenario of the Itoneion in the history of Boiotian meeting-places is elucidated by Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 126–127), who saw the first firm evidence of Athena's sanctuary as a federal center in Hellenistic times, that it was then mainly a religious center, that the references to the federal archon of the time as "*Archon* in Onchestos" (ἄρχοντες ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ; see, e.g., *SEG* XXVII 60; *IG* VII 1747.1) and the central location of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos made it the center of the *koinon*'s political administration; see Roesch *Éb*, pp. 271–275, for Onchestos as the capital of the Boiotian League from 338 BC. On the importance of the cult and sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos to the Boiotian *ethnos* as early as the sixth century BC see above, pp. 91–92 and footnote 17. For the mythical traditions of an eponymous hero Onchestos, the son of Boiotos, as founder of the sanctuary, and Poseidon as the father of Boiotos, see Larson 2007, pp. 18–22; Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 2, pp. 207–221. Samuel Gartland (2016b, p. 159 and n. 60) reasoned that the *polis* of Onchestos became the political center of the *koinon* because of the antiquity of its cult of Poseidon and the rich physical features of its region. Under the Romans the greatly diminished political power of the Boiotian *koinon* moved to the mainly religious sphere of the Itoneion at Koroneia, where federal decrees were passed by the *naopoioi* (for these officials, see below, pp. 155–158 and footnotes 270–280); see also Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 126–127.

233 According to Schachter (2016a, p. 190 and n. 38) the Pamboiotia "persisted intermittently from the first century BC until Plutarch's day at least," and "The reference in Pausanias

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than that.[234] Instead of looking to early history, Pausanias was likely referring to the federal assembly of his own time, one formed of the Boiotian *poleis* rather than of representatives of the old electoral units. Before the League was under the authority of the Romans a general assembly could not practically have met often enough to administrate a union of the many scattered *poleis* of Boiotia, but under Roman Imperial rule the League's loss of political and military authority would have allowed its greatly curtailed business to be accomplished by an infrequent general assembly at the Itoneion, especially at the festival of the Pamboiotia.[235] This transition in Boiotian politics again shows that shared religious cult, particularly the widespread worship of Athena Itonia, was the least vulnerable of collective activities and thus the force for ethnic identity that was able to survive internal strife, lapses of political organization, and finally the ebb of Boiotian independence and thus facilitate the eventual establishment of a more pacific League under Roman rule.[236]

To return to other examples of federal use of the Itoneion before Roman hegemony, the Boiotian League from its very beginning set up trophies and apparently offered sacrifice at her shrine in celebration of victories over alien foes.[237] The Itoneion, as an important federal shrine, was also a location for

(9.34.1) suggests that some form of the Pamboiotia may have been celebrated in his day."

234 Farnell's ([1896–1909] 1977, p. 301) statement that the temple of Athena Itonia at Koroneia was "the meeting-place of the Panboeotian confederacy and festival" has a similar ambiguity. Nilsson (1906, p. 89 and n. 4) cited Paus. 9.34.1 as a reference to "das böotische Bundesfest, die *Pamboiotien*," apparently taking κοινὸν…σύλλογον as inclusive of the festival.

235 Pausanias' use of the present tense (συνίασιν) may indicate this, as some translations seem to; e.g., "and here the Boeotians gather for their general assembly" (W.S.H. Jones, Loeb, Pausanias, vol. 4, p. 323; *idem*, http://perseus.uchicago.edu/, s.v. Paus. 9.34.1). On this passage of Pausanias, see also Schachter 2016a, pp. 145, 190–191, for the views that the *koinon* in imperial times may have been a re-invention under the auspices of Hadrian, a union without its former political power, and that its *syllogos* need not have been a general assembly, but a meeting of the boiotarchs to discuss a wide variety of issues, including representation at the Delphic Amphictyony, the Boiotian calendar, festivals, the Pamboiotia perhaps among them, and their games.

236 See Mackil 2014, p. 60, for the salubrious effects of Boiotian religious ties on the maintenance of the *koinon* through the Hellenistic period.

237 When at the Battle of Koroneia the Boiotians defeated the Athenians under Tolmides in 447 BC and ended Athenian occupation of Boiotia (Thuc. 1.113), they erected in front of the Itonian temple a trophy, which was still there 50 years later when Agesilaos II of Sparta defeated the Theban army in the same place (Plut. *Ages*. 19.2, *Per.* 18.2–3). Nilsson (1906, p. 89 n. 4) inferred a practice of triumphant sacrifice from Polyaenus' (*Strat*. 7.43) legend of the sacrifice of the Boiotians to Athena Itonia after their victory over the Thracians.

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the publication of diplomatic business,[238] and it continued to be a center of ethnic worship throughout the historical era of ancient Boiotia, in spite of the political and military vicissitudes of its *poleis* and *koinon*. Even before the formation of the formal League, the medism of Boiotian cities (except Plataia and Thespiai), their defeat during the Persian Wars, and a subsequent period of Athenian occupation did no apparent harm to the sanctuary of Athena Itonia but obviously affected the interaction of her cult with the Boiotian *poleis*. These events temporarily left Theban leadership in disarray, but after the Battle of Koroneia in 447 BC the Boiotians, initially with the leadership of Thebes' inveterate rival Orchomenos,[239] inaugurated the strong League of 446–386 BC, which had a council of representative *bouleutai* and magistrates (boiotarchs) that customarily met on the Kadmeia at Thebes when that city had hegemony over the *koinon*.[240] During the periods of its hegemony Thebes was closely linked to Koroneia and its environs, including the sanctuary of Athena Itonia. There were periods, however, when the Boiotian League was dissolved or Thebes otherwise lost its leadership, in which times the Boiotian *poleis*, in so far as they maintained a degree of cooperation, would have met and conducted business in locations other than Thebes, including apparently the sanctuary of Athena Itonia.[241] In sum, from the uncertain early time when the Itoneion became a shared shrine of the Boiotians, it played an important role in the formation and maintenance of their collective identity. Though the common veneration of Athena Itonia and celebration of her festival did not always keep the Boiotians from fighting one another, it did help to preserve their ethnic identity through their long, sometimes turbulent history and well

238 E.g., *IG* IX1² 170, frag. a, lines 2–6, mandates that the treaty of ca. 291 BC between the Aitolians and Boiotians be published at the federal shrines of Poseidon at Onchestos and of Athena at Alalkomenai and Koroneia.

239 Larsen 1968, pp. 29, 32–33.

240 Ehrenberg 1960 [1964], pp. 123–124; Larsen 1968, pp. xxii, xxv, 35–38, 132; R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 125, 176. The role of Thebes as the perennial *hegemon* of Boiotia stemmed from its manipulation of the federal constitution but also from its successful military leadership, as against the Athenians at the Battle of Delion in 424 BC (Thuc. 4.90–101; Larsen 1968, pp. 139–141). Thebes' location, roughly in the center of Boiotia, was also a factor; cf. Orchomenos, which, though a powerful rival of Thebes for Boiotian leadership, was too isolated north of Lake Kopais to be a very practicable capital. The Theban domination of the federation was manifest in its control of the largest number of the eleven representative units that comprised member cities and groups of cities in the League of 446 BC. Each unit contributed 60 councillors and one boiotarch to form the federal *boule*; see *Hell. Oxy.* Ch. 19 (ed. M. Chambers 1993); Aeschin. 3.145.

241 See Müller 2014, pp. 134–135, for the argument that, whether or not there was a federal political structure, the collective Boiotian *poleis* used religious festivals as occasions for decision-making about matters of common interest.

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into the Roman Imperial age, long after the *koinon* had lost its military and political force.[242]

Direct testimony of the late Boiotian League's involvement with the Itonian cult is an inscription of the late-second or early-third century AD found near Chaironeia that tells of Gnaeus Curtius Dexippos' dedication of a statue in

242 A resumé of the erratic political and military history of the Boiotian League and Theban hegemony provides an instructive contrast with the constancy of the Itonian cult as a factor in keeping alive a Boiotian sense of unity: The First Federation, founded in 446 BC, was disbanded by the Peace of Antalcidas in 386 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31–36), which began a particularly turbulent century in Boiotian history. The Spartans occupied Boiotia through the period 382–379 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2. 25–36). In 379 BC Thebes revolted and reasserted its hegemony in what was "a federation in name only" (Schachter 2016b, p. 50 and n. 50; Robinson 2011, pp. 56–57), having a primary assembly that usually met at Thebes under the leadership of largely Theban boiotarchs (Larsen [1955] 1966, pp. 71–72; Larsen 1968, pp. 175–176; Busolt-Swoboda, p. 1426; see also Rhodes 2016 for the argument that the existence of an assembly and use of the word *dêmos* in decrees of this period does not mean that there was a Boiotian democracy). During this period, the Third Sacred War (357–346 BC) forced Thebes to give up Koroneia and Orchomenos to the Phokians. After a period of alliance with Philip II of Macedon, Thebes went over to Athens, was defeated by Philip at Chaironeia in 338, lost its hegemony over Plataia, Orchomenos (Paus. 4.27.10), and Oropos (Paus. 1.34.1), and surrendered the Kadmeia to a Macedonian garrison (Diod. Sic. 16.87.3). With a new capital at Onchestos in 338 BC a Third Federation gave equal power to the *poleis*, and citizenship was held in both the *polis* and the *koinon*; see Ehrenberg 1960 [1964], p. 124. In 335 Alexander destroyed Thebes, enslaved its population (Din. 1.24; Arr. *Anab.* 1.7–9; Diod. 17.7–14; Plut. *Alex.* 11.6–12), and distributed its territory among neighboring cities (Hyp. 6.17; Diod. 18.11.3–4). For resumés of Boiotian political history in the Classical period and Theban history from 382 to 335 BC, see Schachter 2016a, pp. 66–79, 113–132. Thebes was refounded ca. 316 BC (Diod. 19.54.1; Paus. 9.7.1; Gartland 2016a, pp. 83–85) and the League survived in the Hellenistic period as a collection of *poleis*, each of which was limited to a single boiotarch. While these changes lessened the power of the Thebans, their leaders continued to intrigue against the growth of Roman power in Greece; Larsen 1968, pp. 177–180. On Boiotian government of the late-third and second centuries BC, and in particular the existence of a federal *synedrion* by ca. 220 BC, see Roesch 1965b, pp. 126–133. After 197 BC and the Roman defeat of Philip V in the Second Macedonian War, his allied Boiotian cities switched their loyalty to Rome, with the exception of a brief period of internal dissension (Livy 33.1–2, 27–29; Polyb. 18.43). Although the Boiotian cities except Koroneia and Haliartos (Livy 42.44.4; 42.46.9–10; 42.63.3–12; 42.67.11) remained loyal to Rome in the Third Macedonian War (172–168 BC), the Romans dissolved the Boiotian League after their decisive victory at Pydna. See Müller 2014 for the Boiotian League after 146 BC, including evidence and argument (pp. 122–130) that, contrary to Paus. 7.16.9–10, the Boiotian *koinon* was non-existent between 168 and 146 BC, nor was it reestablished after Mummius' victory at the Battle of Achaia in 146, but only in the late-first century BC, from which time it continued without interruption into the Roman Imperial period. With Sulla's victory in the First Mithridatic War at Chaironeia in 86 BC Boiotia had lasting peace under Roman rule and became part of the province of Achaia established by Augustus in 27 BC.

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memory of his mother, Flavia Laneika, who had held, among other high offices, the position of archpriestess of Athena Itonia for life.[243] Though this epigraphic testimony is unique and late, it is probable that this high office existed in the early cult sanctuary of Athena Itonia as a patron of the *ethnos*, but we should not infer that there was not regularly a lesser priestess of the local variety who attended to the day-to-day rituals of the Itoneion near Koroneia.[244] If there were early boiotarchs who had religious duties directly related to the Itonian cult and shrine, these may have lapsed by the late-sixth century in favor of the military and political responsibilities that chiefly characterized the boiotarchy through its recorded history.[245]

As noted above, the chief basis for belief that the *temenos* of the federal cult of Athena Itonia was in or near the modern Boiotian village of Mamoura is the discovery in that area of a significant number of complete or fragmentary inscriptions believed to have been displaced from the ancient shrine.[246] The publication of federal business at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, mainly honorific decrees from the Hellenistic period,[247] had a three-fold purpose: the business was sanctified by its dedication to a chief cult deity of the League, publication at a popular shrine and the site of a federal festival assured that a wide range of confederate members had access to the text, and, as in all such cases, the inviolability of the sanctuary extended to the documents and thus promoted their preservation. An inscription of honors for the Roman emperor Claudius found at Mamoura indicates that the Boiotians chose the Itoneion near Koroneia as the place to dedicate a copy of these honors, which they bestowed in company with other federated Greeks.[248] Even when decrees such

243 *IG* VII 3426, lines 2–4: Φλάβίαν Λανείκαν τὴν ἀρχιέρειαν / διὰ βίου τοῦ τε κοινοῦ Βοιωτῶν τῆς / Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς; see Decharme 1868, no. 16, pp. 509–51; Frazer [1913] 1965, vol. 5, p. 169; see Schachter 2016a, pp. 141–142 and n. 17, regarding the date of the inscription and the suggestion that Flavia Laneika could have been the priestess at the Itoneion when Pausanias was there.

244 See R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 88–89, for the opinion that the existence of a federal priestess was probably early and meant that the Itonian sanctuary as well as its cult festival were overseen by an amphictyony of delegates from the Boiotian states and that this amphictyony could also have chosen the delegates to the Delphic amphictyony.

245 R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 124–125. Boiotarchs, however, were involved in the military games of the Hellenistic Pamboiotia, which were religious in an indirect sense; see below, pp. 154–155 and footnotes 265–269.

246 Above, p. 107, and footnote 74.

247 Federal decrees of proxeny and other honors: Foucart 1885, pp. 427–430, nos. 41–45; *IG* VII 2858–2869; see Feyel 1942a, pp. 14–18, for another example possibly from the Itoneion and for the dating of the decrees to the late-third century; Pritchett 1965–1992, II, pp. 88–89 and pl. 64, for discovery of another fragmentary honorific decree of the Boiotian League.

248 *IG* VII 2878.

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as proxenies were promulgated elsewhere, the Itoneion as a federal shrine was one of the favored sites for the inscribed publication of such honors, either for Boiotians by foreign government or for *xenoi* by the the Boiotian League.[249] In either case, subsequent to the passage of the decrees, agents of the League would approve, either by a provision within the decree or separately, the publications in the federal shrine, including the details of the inscribing and installation of the stelai. Though there is no explicit provision for it in the extant texts from the Itoneion, either the honoring party or the honorand might pay for the inscribing and placement of a copy of the decree in another location, such as a sanctuary or agora, appropriate to the concerned parties.[250] Finally it must be said that although the intended official gatherings of the collective Boiotian *ethnos* or *koinon* at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia involved in the main religious, political, and military functions, incidental to these purposes would have been the forging of other shared interests in social, cultural, and economic matters that would have furthered the integration of the Boiotians as a collective people.

7.4 *The Pamboiotia*

Among the foremost evidence of the importance of the cult of Athena Itonia to the Boiotian people is the festival of the Pamboiotia, which was celebrated at the Itonian shrine in the plain near Koroneia in autumn, in Pamboiotios, the tenth month of the Boiotian year.[251] As the name Pamboiotia implies, participation in this festival and its games was exclusive to members of the

249 Whether or not federal decrees directly concerned the cult of Athena Itonia, it would be appropriate to publish them at a federal shrine. We cannot presume, however, that the federal decrees published at the Itoneion were passed at that location; cf. R.J. Buck 1979, p. 89 and n. 12. Regarding absence in the Itoneion of Boiotian grants of proxeny for Boiotian citizens, see Mackil 2014, p. 58 and n. 41, with reference to Roesch 1973, p. 267, and for the logic of this as "implicit in Knoepfler's argument (e.g. 1999, p. 242 n. 66) that Boeotian cities did not bestow proxeny on citizens of other Boeotian cities—because they already had these privileges by virtue of being Boeotian citizens."

250 On the process of inscribing and publishing multiple copies of document involving separate independent polities, see Lalonde 1971.

251 Strabo 9.2.29 (411): Ἀλκαῖος δὲ καλεῖ Κωράλιον λέγων "ὦ ’νασσ’ Ἀθανάα "πολεμηδόκος, ἄ ποι Κορωνίας ἐπὶ λαΐω ναύω πάροιθεν ἀμφιβαίνεις Κωραλίω ποταμῶ παρ’ ὄχθαις." ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὰ Παμβοιώτια συντέλουν. The Pamboiotia in general: Nilsson 1906, p. 89; Pappadakis 1923; *RE* XVIII 3, 1949, cols. 288–289, s.v. Pamboiotia (L. Ziehen); Plassart 1926, pp. 396–399; Feyel 1942a, pp. 58–66 (epigraphic evidence for the Basileia at Lebadeia and the Pamboiotia at Koroneia); Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 123–127; Schachter 1978 and 1980 (dossiers of inscriptions). For the time of the festival in Pamboiotios, the tenth month of the Boiotian year (September / October), see Latyschev 1882, pp. 31–39. Though the festival has been thought to be annual (see, e.g., Plassart 1926, p. 397), Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1. p. 124

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Boiotian *ethnos*. As it is uncertain how long the Itonian cult sanctuary existed before its manifest celebrity among poets of the Archaic period,[252] so a *terminus post quem* for the celebration of a Boiotian festival of Athena Itonia can be a matter only of broad speculation.[253] Although it is not certain when the immigrant Boiotians recognized their wider *ethnos* and formed an amphictyony or a proto-federation around the cult of Athena Itonia, it is likely that at that time they would have instituted a regular gathering at the Itoneion to celebrate their principal military and ethnic goddess.[254] Despite uncertainty whether the festival was Panboiotian from the outset or when it adopted a program of competitive events, Pindar's reference to past and current equestrian victories of the Theban Agasikles and his family around the temple of Itonia indicates that there was a festival of significant standing with wide Boiotian participation at least by the late Archaic or early Classical period.[255] Pindar's celebration of a single victor and his family suggests that this early festival, like those of Zeus at Olympia or Pythian Apollo, featured contests of individuals and not of the military units that are first known from dedications of victors in the Pamboiotia of the third century BC.[256] On the sixth-century geometricising vases, where Annie Ure postulated painted evidence of the Itonian cult and ritual,[257] Emmanuel Benchimol has more recently explained other scenes as corroboration of Pindar's testimony of athletic contests at a Koroneian festival of Athena Itonia in the Archaic and early Classical periods and has interpreted painted figures on the lid of a tripod pyxis as evidence that this early Itonian festival was also the occasion for a procession of the united Boiotian army,

n. 3) observed that there is no evidence, including the month named Pamboiotios, of its frequency.

252 See above, pp. 92–93 and footnotes 15–20, for the testimonia to the Boiotian cult by the Archaic poets.

253 Moshe Amit (1971, p. 57–58) opined that although the references to the Pamboiotia are late it is fairly certain that the festival dated from the time of the settlement of Boiotia.

254 *RE* XVIII, 3, 1949, col. 288, s.v. Pamboiotia (L. Ziehen).

255 Pind. *Parth.* II, fr. 94 b, lines 41–49 (see the text above, pp. 91–92 footnote 17). Stephanie Larson (2007, p. 134) inferred from Pindar's phrase τὰ πάλαι in this *epinikion* for performance at the Theban *daphnephorikon* "that these contests were the kind that Agasikles' family had been winning for some time, perhaps for generations."

256 Pind. *Parth.* II, fr. 94 b, lines 41–49; see above, pp. 91–92 footnote 17, for the text, particularly the phrasing, τί- /μαθεν γὰρ τὰ πάλαι τὰ νῦν / τ' ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν. The fact that Pindar's equestrian victor was a Theban shows that the festival had wide Boiotian participation. Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 123 and n. 1) allowed that if Pindar's festival was Panboiotian, it might have been organized by an early Boiotian union, that is, one that pre-dated the institution of the League under Theban auspices in 446 BC (for which see above, p. 141 and footnote 216).

257 See above, p. 119 and footnotes 127–130.

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an event that would be consistent with the early martial attributes that came with Athena Itonia from Thessaly and would presage the later chiefly military competitions of the Hellenistic Pamboiotia.[258] Because it is not known when a festival of Athena Itonia at Koroneia became Panboiotian, and because the earliest extant evidence of the festival with the name Pamboiotia dates from the Hellenistic period,[259] Ludwig Ziehen wondered whether the Pamboiotia were so named from their beginning or were earlier called the Ἰτώνια as in Thessaly.[260] This is a moot question, but consideration of the conservatism of sacred calendars, the evidence, as far as we know it, that the common calendar of the Boiotians had no month of Itonios, and the possibility that the cult was from its foundation at Koroneia already a common focus of the Boiotians, suggests that these immigrants, while retaining the byname of Athena that was homonymous with her festival in Thessaly, may have chosen at the outset for her Boiotian festival a name that distinguished their shared ethnic devotion to the cult,[261] a nomenclature that would have made less sense in Thessaly

258 Benchimol 2008, particularly pp. 423 (fig. 2), 427–432.

259 The earliest extant epigraphical references to the Παμβοιώτια by name are found in dedications of victors (e.g., *IG* VII 3087; *SEG* III 354) in the military games that are dated from the use of the adjectival patronymic in the inscribed texts not long after the middle of the third century BC. *IG* VII 2466, another such dedication from the same period does not mention the Pamboiotia by name. The festival is also named in *IG* VII 3172, face b. 1, line 21, which is dated by the archon Onasimos precisely to 223 BC; for this inscription, which deals with the legal attempts of Nikareta of Thespiai to recover money lent to the Orchomenians for expenses of the Pamboiotia, see below, pp. 154–157 and footnotes 264, 272–275. Polybios (4.3.5; 9.34.11), writing around the same time, refers to τὴν τῶν Παμβοιωτίων πανήγυριν. Kowalzig (2007, p. 360, 362 and n. 70) betrays the uncertain early chronology of the festival, when she writes that "Athena's pan-Boiotian significance is generally thought not to pre-date the first epigraphic testimony of such a role at the turn of the fourth century," and that "the Pamboiotia are first epigraphically attested in *IG* IX 1^2 170" (treaty of the Aitolians and Boiotians of the late-fourth or early third century BC), but the latter point is inferred not from the name of the festival but only from mention of the shrine of Athena at Koroneia, where, in addition to that of Poseidon at Onchestos, the collective Boiotians are to publish the treaty. Despite the absence of evidence, other scholars have presumed that the Pamboiotia were an institution earlier than the third century BC: e.g. *RE* XVIII.3, 1949, cols. 288–289, s.v. Pamboiotia (L. Ziehen); R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 77–78; Tausend 1992, p. 26; Maffoda 2000, p. 22. Mackil (2013, pp. 157–158, 163), however, subscribed to the caution of Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 123) about retrojecting the chronology of the Pamboiotia.

260 *RE* XVIII, 3, 1949, col. 288, s.v. Pamboiotia (L. Ziehen). That the festival on Amorgos was called the Ἰτώνια rather then the Παναμόργια is not relevant to this question, since there the cult was common to two, but apparently not all three, *poleis* of the island.

261 Cf. *IACP*, s.v. Koroneia, p. 445: "Her festival included hippic competitions (Pind. *Parth.* 2.46–49). The pan-Boiotian festival postdates the Classical period." The authors of that statement apparently believe that the festival of Athena Itonia became the Pamboiotia

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where the worship of Athena Itonia was shared among at least three originally distinct ethnic groups, *Boiotoi, Thessaloi*, and indigenous Aiolians. Moreover, as will be seen below, the main feature of the Pamboiotia was, at least by the third century, martial competition open only to the Boiotian *poleis*, and thus a name that reflected this ethnic exclusiveness rather than the goddess's origin and byname is understandable.

At least as early as the 220s BC the celebration of the Pamboiotia involved a sacred truce (ἐκεχειρία) throughout the territory of Boiotia.[262] The festival Panboiotian festival of Athena Itonia and its armistice are further substantial evidence that, despite the independence of the *poleis*, their periodic military and political conflicts, and the lapses of their formal federation, shared religious cult was the most basic and least vulnerable foundation of Boiotian ethnic unity.[263] Any festival at the federal level would have been an expensive enterprise, and evidence of this for the festival of Athena Itonia of the late-third century BC is Nikareta of Thespiai's lending the sum of 18,833 silver drachmas to the Orchomenians for the Pamboiotia in the federal archonship of Onasimos (223 BC).[264] We have little explicit evidence of the officials who

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only when we have evidence of it by name in the Hellenistic era. Cf. Moretti 1962, p. 100 for the correct point that *extant documentation* (my emphasis) of the Pamboiotia is only as early as the third century BC. On this question, Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 123, 124 and n. 1) considered that the Pamboiotia as celebrated in the Hellenistic period were first organized, rather than reorganized, in the second quarter of the third century BC (a dating based on the Amphictyonic grant of *asylia* as referring to the Itonian sanctuary at Koroneia [*SEG* XVIII 240]; see above, p. 145 and footnote 227).

262 Polybios (4.3.5; 9.34.11) tells of an otherwise unknown attack against the πανήγυρις of the Pamboiotia, a violation of both the *asylia* of the sanctuary and the *ekecheiria* of the festival, and elsewhere (4.25.2) he writes of a complaint of the Boiotians to Philip V that the Aitolians sacked the shrine of Athena Itonia even during a time of peace. The Amphictyonic decree (*SEG* XVIII 240) of 266/265 or 262/261 BC granting *asylia* to the Itonian sanctuary near Koroneia may be related to the sacred truce; see Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 123 and n. 6 (regarding the restoration of the name Koroneia in the texts).

263 See pp. 148–149 and footnote, 242 above, for the inconstancy of the federation and its hegemony. Cf. R.J. Buck 1979, p. 172: "The Boeotians formed a religious association that persisted after political unity had faded, and one that controlled the calendar and festivals such as the Pamboeotia." Cf. Beck's (2014, p. 41) conclusion from epigraphic evidence that "much of their [the collective Boiotians] action was military and political, in a broad sense, but it bears little promise to dissociate these areas from joint performance in cult or ritual."

264 *IG* VII 3172, lines 16–21: ἀργυ/ρίου δραχμάς μυρίας ὀκτα/κισχειλίας ὀκτακοσίας τρι/άκοντα τρεῖς ἄτοκον ἐχ Θεσ/πιῶν εἰς τὰ Παμβοιώτια τὰ ἐ/π' Ὀνασίμου ἄρχοντος Βοιωτοῖ[ς]. For the affair of this loan, see Migeotte 1984, pp. 60–61 and no. 13. On the federal archon Onasimos and the date of 223 BC, see Knoepfler 1992, p. 469, no. 100; Grenet 2014, p. 414. Dittenberger (*IG* VII 3172, commentary, p. 582), with reference to the listing of Onasimos as archon also in *IG* VII 210, dated the inscription as no earlier than 222 and not later than 200 BC. On the financing of festivals, cf. Müller 2014, p. 134, for the analogy of Xenarchos of Hyettos

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managed the general business of the Pamboiotia, but it is highly likely that the boiotarchs by virtue of their leadership of the federal armies organized and presided over the Pamboiotia in the Hellenistic period, when its games were contests of military teams from the members of the League.[265] Boiotarchs are therefore sometimes named in inscribed dedications of victors and decrees involving the contests of the Pamboiotia, perhaps not only to date the events but also because these officials served as delegates to the administrative synod of the festival and as leaders of their local contingents in military competitions.[266] We know of a college of agonarchs (ἀγώναρχοι) of uncertain number who were elected by the federal *poleis* and districts and performed some services for federal festivals at least in Hellenistic times and perhaps earlier.[267] When Rome, in response to Boiotian hostility, dissolved the *koinon* in 172/171 BC,[268] the center of the greatly diminished Boiotian political power moved to the Itoneion at Koroneia, where the Pamboiotia no longer included martial competitions or the oversight of boiotarchs.[269] After this there is no evidence of games of any kind at the Pamboiotia until the late-first century BC, at which time the ναοποιοί assumed federal responsibilities at the Itoneion, especially the financial administration of the festival and its new athletic and artistic contests, and the passing of federal decrees. The *naopoioi*, a college of magistrates chosen by the various *poleis*, were survivors of the Hellenistic *koinon* but now chiefly religious officials who presented no threat to the Roman regime.[270] In addition

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whose benefactions included exempting the Boiotian *poleis* from their contributions to the festival of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia. With regard to the cult of Athena Itonia herself, cf. below, Chapter Four, the extraordinary epigraphical detail of individual philanthropic financing of the festival of the Itonia on the island of Amorgos.

265 Roesch 1965b, p. 107.

266 See, e.g., *IG* VII 3088; *SEG* III 355 (Thespiai, third c. BC); Pappadakis 1923, pp. 228–238; Plassart 1926, p. 396, no. 16.

267 According to Feyel (1942b, p. 267 n. 1), the ἀγώναρχυ of *IG* VII 1817 who dedicated a herm seem to have been at least five in number. The late-third-century Magistrate Stele of Thespiai twice names a single ἀγώναρχος (Roesch 1965b, p. 5, lines 3–4; p. 9, line 68; see pp. 18–19 for the dating of the stele to ca. 220–208 BC) and once a group of three ἀγώναρχυ and their secretary (Roesch 1965b, p. 7, lines 51–53). Though the title ἀγώναρχος would suggest duties specific to festival games, see Roesch 1965b, pp. 141–145, for extensive discussion of the office and a consensus that ἀγώναρχος was equivalent in the Boiotian dialect to the title ἀγορανόμος which replaced the earlier term ca. 170 BC; see also R.J. Buck 1979, p. 158 and n. 119.

268 The purpose of the Roman dissolution of the Boiotian League was to disperse its power among the independent *poleis*; see Polyb. 27.1: τὸ δὲ κατὰ πόλιν διελεῖν τοὺς Βοιωτούς.

269 See Müller 2014, pp. 119–120, for the argument that after the dissolution of 172/1 BC there were no federal archons, such as the boiotarchs, and no federal Boiotian *synedrion*, assembly, or judicial institution.

270 R.J. Buck 1979, p. 89; Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 124–125. For the Boiotian federal *naopoioi* in general, see Roesch 1965b, pp. 200–201, 205. For epigraphic evidence (dated

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to what we know of the games of the Pamboiotia, there is evidence of other activities associated with the festival, some of them traditional rituals and others ad hoc actions on religious, political, and judicial issues for which the gathering at the Pamboiotia was a required or convenient occasion.[271] Sacrifice was a common rite of cult festivals, and for the only explicit reference to it in the Pamboiotia we turn again to the inscriptions of the third century BC concerning the loans of Nikareta of Thespiai, wherein one contract stipulates that she is to be repaid at the festival within the three days before the sacrifice.[272] Earlier and less certain evidence of such sacrifice is Ure's tentative interpretation of the scene on a sixth-century lekane in the British Museum as a procession in the Pamboiotia.[273] Polyaenus' tale of a primitive Boiotian defeat of the Thracians may be questionable history, but its detail of the victors' sacrifice to

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to the last third of the first c. BC and later) of their involvement in the games, federal dedications, and the passage of decrees at the Itoneion during the Pamboiotia, see below, pp. 155–164 with footnotes 270, 280, 312; see also Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 124–126; Knoepfler 1988, pp. 273–281; Müller 2014, pp. 120–126, 136. An inscribed *apologia* of the secretary of the federal *naopoioi*, Nikarchos of Chaironeia, concerns an unidentified festival that may have been the Pamboiotia; see Knoepfler 1988; Müller 2014, p. 128 and nn. 53–55. The *naopoioi* also administrated the festival of the Basileia at Lebadeia; on ancient Lebadeia and the Basileia, see *IACP*, pp. 445–446, no. 211; see also Feyel 1942a, pp. 67–87; Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 3, pp. 109–118; Schachter 2016a, p. 189. *Naopoioi* ("commissioners of temples"), a title found throughout Greece (*RE* XVI, 1935, col. 2439, s.v. *Νεωποιοί* [O. Schulthess]), generally referred to magistrates charged with the building and maintenance of sacred properties, a role for which the Boiotian *naopoioi* may have been first instituted when they undertook oversight of the construction of the temple of Zeus Basileios at Lebadeia in the last third of the third century BC (*IG* VII 3073 [= *Syll.*^{3} 972]; see lines 4 and 32 for the ναοποιοί, and lines 88–89 for the νόμος ναοποϊκός, a law of the federation as overseer of the temple; Roesch *Éb*, pp. 291–292, 392–396; Grenet 2014, p. 424 and n. 130); see also Robert Pitt's (2014) thorough study of the building accounts of the temple. Since the original duties of the *naopoioi* had only to do with the physical properties of cult, they would have been a convenient and irenic body of non-political officials to which the supervision of the business of common Boiotian cults could be safely transferred during the Pax Romana.

271 The revival of rituals and revised competitions at the sanctuary and festival of Athena Itonia in the late-first century BC can be interpreted as part of the attempt to use religious cult as a way of recovering a degree of Boiotian identity under Roman rule; see Kallionitzis 2014, pp. 342–344.

272 *IG* VII 3172, face b. 1, lines 23–27: ἀποδότωσαν δὲ τὸ δάνειον / οἱ δανεισάμενοι ἢ οἱ ἔγγυ/οι Νικαρέτᾳ ἐν τοῖς Παμβοι/ωτίοις πρὸ τῆς θυσίας ἐν ἡμέ/ραις τρισίν. With reference to the due date of Nikareta's repayment, Ure (1929, p. 169) referred to the sacrifice at the Pamboiotia as "a ceremony of such importance that the day of the sacrifice was used as a date in legal transactions." This practice had an interesting later parallel in Medieval European fairs, whose regular and fixed dates were convenient occasions for the gathering of moneylenders and borrowers and for the payment of debts; See Gies and Gies 1981, p. 106.

273 See above, p. 119 and footnotes 127–130.

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Athena Itonia may be an etiology of triumphal sacrifices to the martial goddess at the Pamboiotia or at other gatherings in the Itoneion.[274]

The third-century case of Nikareta of Thespiae and her pursuit of reimbursement of money lent to the Orchomenians also testifies that the Pamboiotia were an occasion for federal judicial process. Payment of this debt may have been due at the Pamboiotia because the money was originally lent for the festival, but another reason must have been that federal officials gathered at the sanctuary could exercise some judicial authority toward repayment by the Orchomenians or their guarantors. These officials were undoubtedly the federal college of judges, called in the Boiotian dialect the τεθμοφούλακες ("guardians of the law"), whose secretary was named at the end of Nikareta's inscribed case file.[275] In the same century a τεθμοφούλαξ was also named on the Magistrate Stele of Thespiai among the federal officers chosen by that city.[276] Perhaps more folktale than history is Plutarch's account of Kallirrhoê, who, taking advantage of the *asylia* of the sanctuary and the *ekecheiria* of the Pamboiotia, came to the festival as a suppliant to the altar of Athena Itonia and and achieved justice against her father's murderers, but the story may be a recollection of the historical reality of an early collective Boiotian court of law during the festival of Athena Itonia, when plaintiffs could safely come to the Itonian sanctuary and have the assembled magistrates in the manner of an amphictyonic council pass judgments and enforce their execution if necessary.[277]

Boiotian epigraphy yields strong evidence of the continued importance of the festival of Pamboiotia as a focus of federal business in the Roman Imperial age. Exemplary of this is a well-documented case of the Pamboiotia as the occasion for federal bestowal of honors that were not directly related to Athena Itonia or her festival. The relevant dossier of nine related documents inscribed

274 Polyaenus, *Strat.* 7.43.

275 *IG* VII 3172, line 178: τῶν τεθμοφουλάκων γραμματεὺς Σα….

276 See Roesch 1965b, p. 9, lines 66–67, for the entry on the Magistrate Stele of Thespiai (τεθμοφούλαξ Εὔφορβος / [Μ]ενεκράτεος), and pp. 145–152 for a discussion of these federal officers and their duties, including (pp. 146–149) their relation to the case of Nikareta and (p. 149 and n. 4; p. 150 and n. 2) attention to a reference by Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 292 D, no. 8) to a Boiotian law of the *Thesmophylakes* (παραθήσομαι δὲ λέξιν μίαν ἐκ τοῦ θεσμοφυλακίου νόμου …). Existing alongside the broader federal judiciary, the τεθμοφούλακες settled, among other things, grievances of individual citizens of Boiotian *poleis*; see Mackil 2013, p. 354. For Thespiai, see *IACP*, pp. 457–458, no. 222.

277 Plut. *Amat. Narr.* 4. For a parallel example of a judgment rendered at the Panhellenic level, see *SEG* XXXI, 358, Beck 2014, pp. 38–41, and Schachter 2016a, pp. 59–60, for an inscription from Olympia (dated in the 470s BC) recording a judgment of the sanctuary magistrates (*mastroi*) that exempted the Thespians and their dependents from certain earlier verdicts and penalties rendered against the Boiotians.

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on a large stele found built into the Church of Agios Georgios in the Boiotian village of Karditza (now Akraiphnion), near the site of ancient Akraiphia, probably stood originally in one of the nearby sanctuaries, perhaps of Apollo Ptoieus or of Zeus of some cult.[278] The texts, dated to AD 37, concern honors for Epaminondas, son of Epaminondas, of Akraiphia for undertaking at his own expense an embassy to salute the Roman emperor Gaius on his accession. The inscribed dossier comprises (I) a letter of the *koinon* of the Achaians, Boiotians, Lokrians, Euboians, Phokians, and Dorians to the Akraiphian archons (lines 1–15),[279] (II) a decree of this Greek *koinon* honoring Epaminondas, including a provision for its publication (lines 15–20), (III) a text of Gaius' edict of gratitude to the Greek *koinon* (lines 21–43), (IV) a letter of the Achaians to the *koinon* of the Boiotians noting the transmission of a copy of the emperor's text (lines 43–50), (V) a letter of the *koinon* of the Boiotians to the Akraiphian archons notifying them of the dispatch of a copy of their honorific decree for Epaminondas (lines 51–56), (VI) a copy of the combined decrees of all the ναοποιοὶ ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν Παμβοιωτίων[280] and the *koinon* of the Boiotians (lines 56–76), (VII) a letter of the Thebans to the Akraiphians (lines 78–87), (VIII) the honorific decree of the Thebans for Epaminondas (lines 88–125), and (IX) a final note that there was not room on the stele to include inscription of the decrees of honor of other Boiotian cities (lines 126–129).[281] As Dittenberger suggested, the publication of Theban honors, while those of other Boiotian

278 Holleaux 1888, pp. 305–315; *IG* VII 2711. Akraiphia: see *IACP*, pp. 437–438. Apollo Ptoieus: *IG* VII 2729–2732, 2734–2735. For a cult of Zeus as the possible protector of Akraiphia, see Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 3, pp. 93–95; e.g., Zeus Oporeus ? (*IG* VII 2733; *SEG* XLVI 528).

279 Somewhat before this time, at the end of the Roman Republic, the former independent Greek federations were folded into this single *koinon* (see Mommsen 1881–1885, vol. 5, p. 237 n. 1; Dittenberger, commentary on *IG* VII 2871, p. 524), though its component unions, including the Boiotian League, are still referred to individually as *koina*; see Müller 2014, pp. 118–119.

280 See *IG* VII 2711, lines 55–56. See above, pp. 155–158, and footnotes 270–280, for the ναοποιοί, a college of federal officials who, like the agonarchs, were clearly important to the festival of Athena Itonia in the Roman age. Their secretary may have replaced the archon as the chief official of the Boiotian federation by the time of the late Pamboiotia (Roesch 1965b, pp. 94, 200–201). The facts of their title ("commissioners of temples") and of their decree's being combined here with that of the Boiotian *koinon* probably mean that the remit of the *naopoioi* included the approval of physical installations in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, in this case the image of Epaminondas and an inscription (lines 71–74). Cf. Karl Keil (1847, p. 125, comment on line 56) for the reasonable restoration of τοῖς] ναοποιοῖς ἐν τῇ παν … in a mutilated inscription of the Boiotians decreeing the dedication of the image of another benefactor in the temple of Athena Itonia.

281 Related to *IG* VII 2711 and of the same provenance are 2712, a decree of the Akraiphians honoring Epaminondas for his benefactions to his city, and 2713, III, a decree of the Akraiphians sponsored by Epaminondas giving thanks to the emperor Nero. See Christel Müller's (1995) study of all three inscriptions.

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poleis are excluded for want of space on the stele, shows that even in the Roman Imperial period the superior reputation and resources of Thebes gave it some privilege among Boiotian cities in the business of the cult, sanctuary, and festival of Athena Itonia.[282] Although this affair did not concern Athena Itonia directly, because Epaminondas brought honor to the entire Boiotian League, it was seen fit, as the texts indicate, to honor him at the Itonian sanctuary during the celebration of the Pamboiotia and to make a collective dedication in the temple of Athena Itonia of a painted image of Epaminondas on a gold-plated shield with an accompanying honorific inscription.[283] The extant stele inscribed with the nine documents was set up at Akraiphia to honor Epaminondas among his fellow citizens, but, in consideration of the obvious importance of these honors to the League and the dedication of the painting and inscription for Epaminondas at the federal shrine on the occasion of the Pamboiotia,[284] it is plausible that there was also a publication of this set of documents at the Itonian sanctuary, although such a copy is not among the inscriptions that have been recovered in the region of the ancient *temenos* near Koroneia.[285]

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282 Dittenberger, commentary on *IG* VII 2711, p. 473. Control of a federal sanctuary and its festival was not only a matter of ceremony and power but also money, as there was considerable profit to be made in a variety of associated religious and secular businesses. A bronze helmet dedicated by the Orchomenians at Olympia may have celebrated their victory over Koroneia in a battle for control of the Itonian sanctuary around the third quarter of the sixth century BC; Lilian. H. Jeffery (*LSAG*, pp. 93, 95, no. 11, pl. 8) favored this approximate date and occasion over that of the Boiotian defeat of the Athenians under Tolmides in 447 BC (Oikonomos 1925–1926, pp. 87–94, figs. 1–2) or the possibility that the dedication may have been made by the the city of Orchomenos in Arkadia (see Roussel, *BullÉp* 1930, p. 196); see also *SEG* XI 1208; Beck 2014, p. 31. As the Charites were patron deities of Orchomenos, Pausanias' (9.34.1) observation that statues of these goddesses were dedicated at the Itoneion near Koroneia in his own time may indicate that Orchomenian interest in the cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia was of very long standing.

283 The painting (*IG* VII 2711, line 72): εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν ὅπλῳ ἐπιχρύσῳ); the inscription to accompany the dedication (lines 74–77): τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν Ἐπαμινώνδαν / [Ἐπα]μινώνδου, πρεσβεύσαντα πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βοιω/[τῶν ἔ]θνους κατὰ δωρεὰν πρὸς τὸν νέον Σεβαστὸν / [Καίσ]αρα Γερμανικόν, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν [καὶ εὐνοί]ας. See Mackil 2014, p. 61, on the effect of collective dedications as "securing the commitment and participation of every individual and community in the dedicatory act." See also Beck 2014, p. 23, on epigraphic evidence of the collective negotiations behind such dedications.

284 The fact that representatives of most of the parties involved in the honors to Epaminondas would have been gathered for the Pamboiotia would have been a secondary and practical reason for dealing with the affair during the festival.

285 Suggesting that the Boiotian federal sanctuary of Athena Itonia was the clearing house for these documents and another likely site for their inscribed publication are their references to various copies to be made and dispatched; e.g., the secretary of the Boiotian federation sends the Akraiphians a copy of their decree signed with the seal of the *demos*

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The foremost activity of the Pamboiotia at least by the Hellenistic period was their program of military games, which took place in the plain close by the sanctuary of Athena Itonia.[286] After Pindar's allusion to age-old contests there in the early Classical period,[287] the inscribed dedications of collective victors in these military contests of the second half of the third century BC are the earliest extant evidence of games at the Itoneion near Koroneia.[288] Although Alkaios' reference to Athena Itonia as πολε[μάδοκε] indicates her martial character in the Archaic period,[289] the existence of early military games is undocumented.[290] The Hellenistic inscriptions show that certainly by that time the games were closely oriented to the martial character of Athena Itonia and to the goal of federal and local preparedness for war, testing whether the various military divisions of the federation measured up to set standards of equipment and performance.[291] Unlike the contests of individual honor that Pindar attests for the Archaic Itonian festival or that were typical of the great Panhellenic festivals and the Pamboiotia of the Roman era, these competitions of military contingents (τέλη) of infantry and cavalry representing individual large *poleis* or groups of small *poleis* reflected glory on the broader components of the Boiotian federation.[292] Indicative that the major focus of the competition was local and that the prestige of victory redounded mainly to the victors and their *poleis* is the fact that the finding places and varied texts of the few extant records of these contests indicate that the dedications usually took place

(lines 52–56); the Thebans send the Akraiphians a sealed copy of their decree (lines 80–83), which includes a provision for its dispatch (lines 122–124).

286 Roesch 1965b, pp. 107–108.

287 For Pindar, see above, pp. 91–92 and footnotes 16–17.

288 See the dedications of victors from Thebes (*IG* VII 2466), Lebadeia (3087, 3088), Koroneia (*SEG* III 354 [found at Thisbe]) and Thespiai (*SEG* III 355), and other fragmentary examples from the region of Koroneia, presumably scattered from the Itoneion (Pritchett 1965–1992, II, pp. 88–89, frag. B, pl. 64); see also Lauffer 1976, no. 8, pp. 15–17; Pappadakis 1923, pp. 228–229; Jamot 1894, p. 534, no. 3. A victory inscription found in the ruins of Akraiphia (*IG* VII 2714) lacks sufficient detail to tell whether it concerned a local festival or that of the Pamboiotia (Pappadakis 1923, p. 229).

289 For Alkaios, see above pp. 91 and footnote 15.

290 Ducat (1973, pp. 60–61) saw an archaic character in these military contests, but there is no evidence of them prior to the middle of the third century. They may have been initiated as part of the reorganization of the Boiotian federal army, ca. 250–245 BC; see Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 124 n. 3 with further references. For the possibility that the military games were earlier but undocumented, see R.J. Buck 1979, p. 88 and n. 10, with references to *RE* XXXVI.2, 1949, col. 287, s.v. Pamboiotia (L. Ziehen).

291 Schachter 2016a, pp. 207–208.

292 For further discussion of the meaning and significance of τέλος and συντέλεια at the Pamboiotia, see Pappadakis 1923, pp. 232–233; Feyel 1942a, pp. 60, 63, 76.

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at cult sanctuaries of deities at or near the *poleis* of the victors and less often at the shrine of Athena Itonia herself.[293] The competing *telê*, as replications of the earlier political and military divisions (*merê*) of the *koinon*,[294] ensured nationwide participation and thus contributed to a strong sense of collective Boiotian identity.[295] Since the competing *poleis* of the League could obviously not field all of their manpower in these contests of the Pamboiotia, we may assume that the τέλη were elite groups, like military special forces or athletic all-star teams, that trained separately and particularly for these competitions.[296] The Pamboiotia were doubly fitting as the occasion for such contests, as the festival celebrated the chief martial goddess, and her festival fell in the late autumn, after the usual fighting season and before the time to plant cereal crops. Within the competing τέλη the detachments (ἀγείματα) of specialists tallied from the surviving inscriptions included cavalry, select or elite infantry (ἐπίλεκτοι),[297] light-armed infantry (πελτοφόραι), archers, and slingers.[298] In some cases the boiotarch is named at the head of the inscription, perhaps not only to date the document but also to indicate that as chief magistrate of his division of the Boiotian League and commander of that division's military arm he presided over the *telos* of his division.[299] The dedicatory victory inscriptions,

293 Plassart 1926, p. 398. With *IG* VII 3087 the horsemen of Lebadeia recorded the dedication of their victory to the local god Trephonios (sic). According to *IG* VII 2466, lines 8–9 (as restored), the victors of Thespiae made their dedication "to the gods and to the *polis*."

294 Müller 2014, pp. 135–136 and nn. 86–87; see also Knoepfler 2014, p. 68 on these terms as territorial units, *merê* in the Classical period vis-à-vis *telê* in the Hellenistic period.

295 Mackil 2013, pp. 224–225.

296 For the elite selection and specialization of these *telê*, see Plassart 1926, p. 398 and n. 2.

297 See *SEG* III 355, line 4: τῶν ἐπιλέκτων. *Epilektoi* is here a term borrowed from actual military usage. Since hoplites, as opposed to light-armed troops, archers, and slingers, were the elite type of infantry, they would be "select," and, since there is no other mention of heavy-armed troops, Plassart (1926, p. 398) was likely right to identify the *epilektoi* in the context of the Pamboiotia as hoplites. See also Pappadakis 1923, p. 234 and n. 1, for his description of the *epilektoi* as τῶν Βοιωτῶν τὸ πατροπαράδοτον ἐγκαλλώπισμα. See Schachter 2016a, Ch. 12, pp. 193–209, for an overall treatment of Boiotian military elites, including (p. 208) *epilektoi* and *ageimata* as terms for various bodies of elite infantry.

298 For a summary of evidence for Boiotian military organizations, see Feyel 1942b, pp. 187–218.

299 See *IG* VII 3088; Roesch 1965b, p. 107 and n. 6, and p. 108, and Plassart 1926, p. 396, no. 16, for the local boiotarch in a dedication of the victorious Thespian infantry. Cf. Jamot 1894, p. 534, no. 3, line 1, for a victory dedication of the Thisbeans dated, according to a tentative restoration, by the "Archon in Onchestos," presumably the federal archon (cf. above, p. 146 and footnote 232 for Schachter's comment on the phrase ἄρχοντες ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ). For the Pamboiotia there is no extant evidence of the ἀγωνοθέτης who officiated, for example, in the festivals of Apollo Ptoios at Akraiphia (*IG* VII 4135, 4138, 4148) and of Zeus Basileios at Lebadeia (Vollgraff 1901, pp. 367–368, A, lines 20, 31; Holleaux 1906, pp. 471–472, lines 24–25, 32, 64), though Pappadakis (1923, p. 232 n. 1) observed that this official was appointed

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probably as products of local initiative, have no statutory form, for they vary in their order and detail. A dedication from Thespiai first names the Thespian boiotarch, Hiarokleis, then the leaders of each winning detachment (ἄγειμα) in the infantry contests (apparently only the Thespian slingers failed to win on this occasion), then summarizes with the statement that the infantrymen who won with achievement in arms (εὐοπλίη) at the Pamboiotia made this dedication to the gods in the year of the Archon Praxion.[300] From the contests of infantry at another celebration of the Pamboiotia, in a very brief inscription with no personal names, the winning light-armed troops, *epilektoi*, archers, and slingers of the *telos* of the Koroneians dedicated their victories simply "to the gods."[301] Dedications and records of victors in equestrian maneuvers list a single commander-in-chief (hipparch) of the cavalry and two or four squadron commanders (ilarchs).[302]

The gap in the epigraphical record of games of the Pamboiotia between the third century and the late-first centuries BC is likely the result of the

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sequentially by the *koinon* of the Boiotians from the *poleis* or *synteleiai* to direct the business of festivals.

300 Plassart 1926, p. 396; *SEG* III 355, esp. lines 13–15 κὴ τὺ πεδδὺ νικάσαντες τῦς / Πανβοιωτίυς εὐοπλίῃ τῦς θεῦς / ἄρχοντος Πραξίωνος. Pappadakis (1923, pp. 230–231) and Ziehen (*RE* XVIII, 3, 1949, col. 289, s.v. Pamboiotia) have noted that εὐοπλίη, the objective of these festival contests, referred not to the testing of arms but to the quality of their use and have compared the term with the εὐανδρία of the Panathenaia, the εὐεξία of the ephebic games in Tralles (*Syll.*[3] 1062) and the εὐταξία of those in Samos (*Syll.*[3] 1061); see also Plassart 1926, p. 397 n. 5; *IThesp* 201. For the ἄγειμα see Plassart 1926, p. 398 and nn. 3–4. Cf. in a very fragmentary third-century inscription from Thespiai recording the victory dedication probably of Thisbeans at the Pamboiotia the reference to a troop of light-armed infantry under officers with the titles *tagmatarchês* and *taxiarchos* (Jamot 1894, p. 534, no. 3, lines 3–4: … ταγματάρχας ……. ταξία[ρχ?]ος τ[ῶ] ἀγείματ[ος] / [. τῶν πε]λταφορά[ων …). See Pappadakis 1923, p. 237, for the idea that the tagmatarch in this case may have commanded in lieu of a boiotarch.

301 *SEG* III 354.

302 See *IG* VII 2466 (Thebes) 3087, 3088 (Lebadeia). According to 3087 the horsemen were victorious at the Pamboiotia in the *hippasia*, said to be a parade or charge of cavalry squadrons in the manner of the Panathenaic *anthippasia* described by Xenophon (*Eq. Mag.* 3); see Boeckh, *CIG* 1588; Pappadakis 1923, p. 230 and n. 3. For the offices of hipparch and ilarch see Roesch 1965b, pp. 22, 108, 110, 176. R.J. Buck (1979, pp. 93–96) has made the case that by the early-seventh century BC most of the upper-class soldiery of Boiotia had adopted hoplite warfare, and, while there was some use of cavalry in the Archaic age and later, the horsemanship of the Archaic poets and the Hellenistic victory inscriptions comprised largely festive imitations of earlier heroic modes of fighting. Cf. Knoepfler 2014, pp. 68–72 for regular military use of Boiotian horsemen as attested in the inscribed early-third-century cavalry *homologa* (*SEG* XXVIII 461; LVII 444) between Orchomenos and Chaironeia. Contests of cavalry at the Pamboiotia would also have kept alive the tradition of Boiotian descent from a Thessaly still famed for its military horsemanship under the patronage of Athena Itonia.

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dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* in 171 BC, but the Pamboiotia, like other common festivals of the Boiotians, probably continued during this period to maintain a sense of collective ethnic identity, even if festival games of Athena were temporarily suspended.[303] It is not surprising that, after the Roman conquest of Greece and the dissolution of the Boiotian political and military League, the Pamboiotia's martial competitions of cavalry and infantry detachments would eventually be replaced by the more traditional Greek contests and honors in athletics and the musical arts.[304] Two inscribed victory lists of the first century BC illustrate this transformation. The first, found immured in the chapel of Agios Nikolaos at Mamoura, was presumably displaced from the ancient sanctuary of Athena Itonia.[305] It lists winners, including one with an Italian name,[306] in contests of the trumpet, heraldry, various races of colts and mature horses, a torch relay race, a one-stade race open to all,[307] a long race for youths (παῖδας δόλιχον), an unspecified contest for all youths (πάμπαιδας), and a one-stade race for youths.[308] The second list, found at Thespiai, names victors in

303 For the dissolution of the Boiotian League, see Etienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 342–347; Müller 2014, pp. 119, 124, 135–136; Grenet 2014, pp. 424–426. For the dissolution as a likely reason for absence of contests, see Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 124 and n. 4.

304 Moretti 1962, p. 100; Roesch 1965b, pp. 71–73 (the non-military festival contests of this period are what Roesch refers to (p. 73) as "la vie religieuse et agonistique." Etienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 346 and 347 n. 321.

305 *IG* VII 2871; *edit. princ.*, Foucart 1885, no. 46, pp. 430–433; see especially the commentary of Knoepfler 1988, pp. 275–280. It would make sense that the later victory inscriptions, as representing open Boiotian competition rather than of local military *telê*, would tend to be dedicated more in the Koroneian sanctuary of Athena Itonia than in the *poleis* of the victors.

306 *IG* VII 2871, line 14; see Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 126 and n. 1 for the opinion that this man Aulus Castricius was a resident of Boiotia and therefore not an exception to the exclusive regionalism of the Pamboiotia.

307 According to Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, p. 126 and n. 1) the fact that a one-stade race is singled out as ἐκ πάντων must mean that it was an exception to the other contests in being open to competitors from all parts. Since there is also a one-stade race for youths, we should consider the possibility that the στάδιον ἐκ πάντων did not mean that non-Boiotians were eligible to run but simply that youths could also compete against the older athletes; cf. *RE* XVIII, 3, 1949, col. 288, s.v. Pamboiotia, where Ziehen seems to conflate this race with the torch relay, but *IG* VII 2871, line 17, should have been edited with punctuation between Θεσπιέων τὸ τέλος (winners of the torch race) and [σ]τάδιον ἐκ πάντων.

308 Dittenberger (commentary on *IG* VII 2871, p. 524) explained the archon named at the head of the inscription (Ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἀκραιφίοις Ἱππονίκου) not as a local magistrate of Akraiphia but as the eponymous archon of the type of limited Boiotian *koinon* which Pausanias (7.16.9–10) mistakenly says the Romans allowed shortly after Mummius' conquests in 146 BC, but which did not ensue until the late-first century BC; see above, pp. 148–149 and footnote 242. Only the contests of trumpet and heraldry might be considered artistic, but they may also have been vestiges of military usage.

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a similar array of contests.[309] Although neither of these texts identifies the festival by name, they are both currently thought to be records from the Pamboiotia in the second or first century BC.[310] Also noteworthy are the facts that the ten victors of *IG* VII 2871 represent only three Boiotian poleis, Orchomenos, Thebes, and Thespiai,[311] and that the inscription's preface names Mnasarchos son of Chariton as both federal γραμματεὺς τῶν ναοποιῶν and ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς πανηγύρεως, both titles of federal magistrates of the Pamboiotia of this period.[312] The naming of "Hipponikos, archon among the Akraiphians," at the beginning of the inscription indicates that by this late date the federal years are dated by

309 *IG* VII 1764; *edit. princ.*, Foucart 1885, p. 410, no. 22.

310 Dittenberger (commentary at *IG* VII 2871, p. 524) dated both inscriptions to ca. middle of the first c. BC; see also Schachter 1978, p. 87 and n. 39. *IG* VII 1764 was first thought because of its provenance to concern the Erotidea at Thespiai (see Dittenberger's [*loc. cit.*] commentary with reference to Boeckh); Roesch (1965b, pp. 93–94) noted that *IG* VII 2871 may have come from the Basileia at Lebadeia, to which festival Feyel (1942a, pp. 58–63) attributed both sets of victory lists on the ground that the Pamboiotian contests should be of teams rather than individuals; cf., however, R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 88, 101 and n. 9; Schachter 1978, pp. 88–90. Schachter (1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 125–126) argues convincingly for the Pamboiotia on a number of points; e.g: The contests of the Basileia differed from those of *IG* VII 2871 and 1764; unlike the Basileia, the Pamboiotia were open only to Boiotians (see 2871); 2871 and 1764 as victory lists cannot be compared with the Hellenistic inscriptions, which are dedications by victors; such comparison also does not take into account the gap in the record of a century and a half nor the transformation of the games of the Pamboiotia after the dissolution of the political and military federation in 171 BC nor for the fact that the *naopoioi* are found only in relation to the Pamboiotia of the Roman era (see above pp. 155–158 and footnotes 270–280). We may add that 2871 and 1764 do have team events in the torch relay, but teams are in the nature of this contest, which is a spectacle not comparable to the military games of the Hellenistic Pamboiotia but rather to the Panathenaic torch race by tribal teams; finally, the finding place of 1764 at Thespiai does not necessarily indicate a "pierre errante," as Feyel called it, since the text's only named victors are Thespians and it would be logical for them to publish a copy of the list in their own *polis*.

311 In the contests of individuals in this era the larger cities would have a statistical advantage, whereas in the earlier Hellenistic military contests of elite *telê*, that might be formed from more than one *polis*, there would have been more parity among the competing detachments.

312 *IG* VII 2871, lines 2–4. For the Boiotian federal ναοποιοί in general see above, pp. 155–158 and footnote 270–280. See Müller 2014, p. 129, on the following points: the later victory lists indicate the religious and non-martial overtones of the games of Athena Itonia in the Boiotian *koinon* under Roman rule; the Itoneion replaced the shrine of Poseidon at Onchestos as the League's center, the meeting-place of its *synedrion*; the *synedrion* likely comprised a college of *naopoioi*, whose secretary (the Mnasarchos named in the preface to *IG* VII 2871) served as the eponymous magistrate as well as the *epimelêtês tês panêgyreôs*, the latter role apparently like that of the *agônothetês* at the games of the Basileia in Lebadeia.

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a non-military magistrate chosen from one of the member *poleis* and that this archon may have been also the titular head of the Pamboiotia.[313] To sum up the contests of the Pamboiotia of the first century BC it is worth emphasizing again the strength of the shared religious cult, sanctuary, and festival games of Athena Itonia as motive forces in the ethnic identity of the Boiotians. Just as in the Hellenistic period, when the celebration of the Pamboiotia and its truce prevailed despite lapses of political and military cohesion among the Boiotian *poleis*,[314] so under the hegemony of the late Roman Republic, when most political and military power had been wrested from the Greeks, the Boiotians eventually adjusted the form of the festival games accordingly and continued to celebrate the Pamboiotia as a religious expression of their shared identity. Despite long gaps in the evidence of the Pamboiotia beyond the middle of the first century BC, the previously noted epigraphic testimonia to Epaminondas of Akraiphia in AD 37 and to Laneika, the federal archpriestess of Athena Itonia probably in the late Antonine period, and the literary references of Plutarch and Pausanias in the second century of the Roman Imperial age show that the Pamboiotia long continued to be well known as an occasion for meetings of the *synedrion* of the Boiotian League and the conduct of such business as cult ritual, the bestowal and publication of honors, and the prosecution of local judicial cases. While the games of a number of other Greek religious festivals are well attested during the first two centuries of the Common Era, there is no evidence of games of the Pamboiotia during that time. For the present we can only guess whether this void is a case of lost evidence of the games or of their being stricken from the festival program of Athena Itonia some time after the mid-first century BC. With or without festival games, the well-attested continuation of the Pamboiotia at least as late as the late-second century of Roman imperial rule would have served a number of peaceful purposes specific to the cult of Athena Itonia but also the continuity of this national goddess would have contributed to the greater purpose of reminding the Boiotians that they still had an ethnic identity that was the heritage of many ages.

313 See Dittenberger's commentary on *IG* VII 2871 for this archonship and the parallel of ἄρχοντος ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ, for which, see above, p. 146 and footnote 232.

314 See Ma 2016, p. 33 and n. 4 for evidence and testimony of warfare among the autonomous Boiotian *poleis*. The games of the military *telê* in the Pamboiotia of the Hellenistic period (see above, pp. 160–162) were a peaceful expression of such inter-*polis* rivalry and tension.

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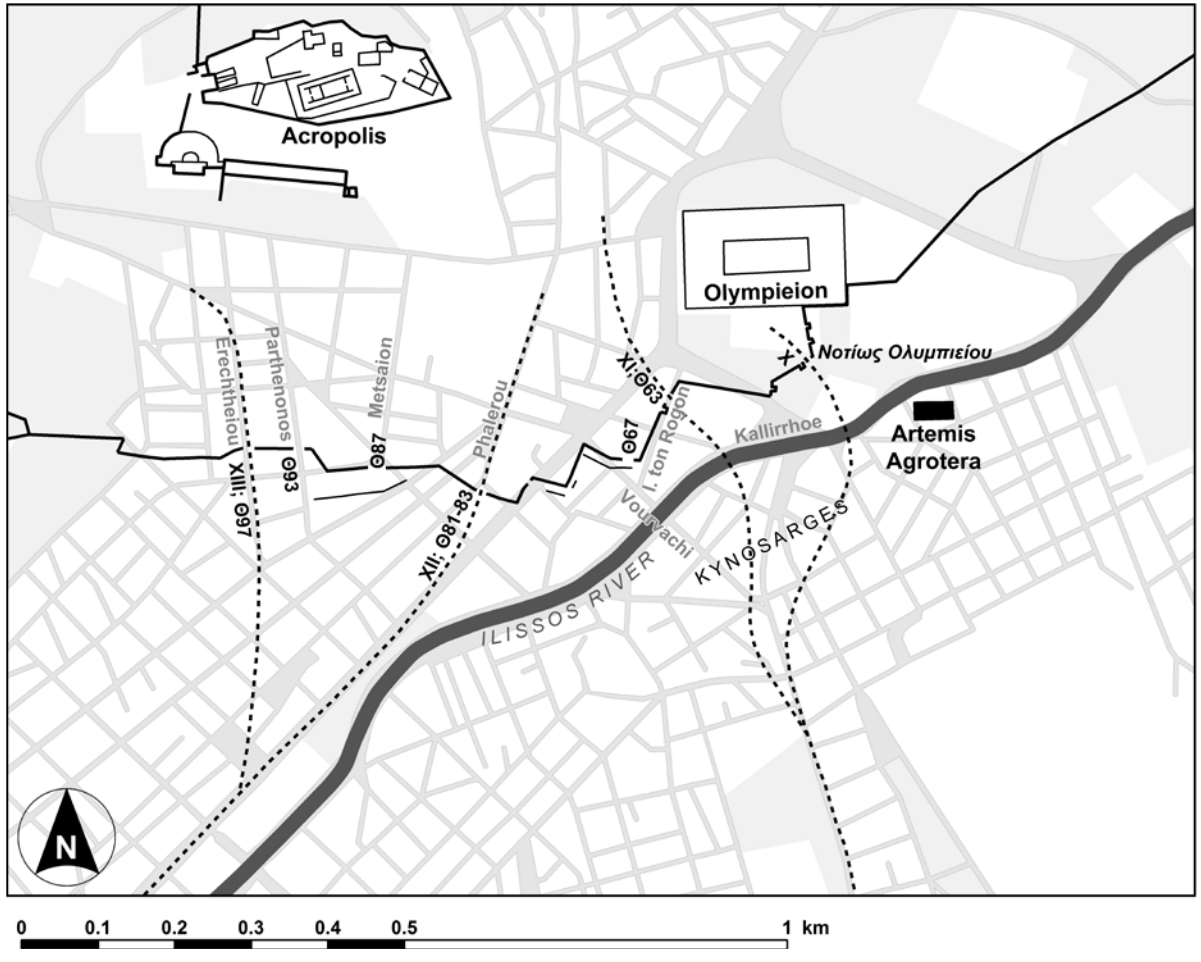

MAP 4 Themistoklean Wall in the Ilissos Region

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CHAPTER 3

Athens

1 Introduction

Explicit evidence of the cult of Athena Itonia at Athens comprises just four brief and fragmentary epigraphic references of the Classical period, and consequently this goddess has received only passing attention in the scholarship of Attic cults. The study of literary testimonia and topographical evidence yields an approximate location of an Itonian sanctuary in Athens but no identification of it with archaeological remains found in situ. The brief suggestion of late-19th-century scholars that the cult of Athena Itonia came to Athens from its likely birthplace in Thessaly has elicited little alternative argument but also no concerted investigation and argument of the time and context of the propagation. The present chapter attempts to provide a synoptic view of the Itonian cult in Athens, bringing together for analysis the epigraphic references to its existence and resources, the topographical evidence for the approximate location of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia, and substantial but less explicit evidence for the source, chronology and circumstances of the cult's establishment at Athens.[1]

2 The Epigraphic Evidence

The only explicit references to the cult of Athena Itonia in Athens are four brief epigraphic passages.[2] The earliest of these is a fragmentary horos inscription found built into an early Byzantine wall in the southwest area of the excavated

1 A synopsis of this chapter, as a paper entitled "Athena Itonia, the Thessalian Cavalry, and Peisistratos," was presented at the Symposium in Memory of David M. Lewis organized by the Greek Epigraphical Society at the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, May 30–June 1, 2014. I would like to thank the symposium's organizers and participants, especially Angelos P. Matthaiou, Andronike K. Makres, Stephen D. Lambert, Robin Lane Fox and Peter J. Rhodes for their collegiality and constructive suggestions.

2 Papazarkadas 2011, pp. 26–27. Where Catullus (64.228) has Aigeus refer to Athena of Athens as *sancti … incola Itoni* ("resident of holy Itonus") the term was probably just an erudite Alexandrian periphrasis for Athena (Garrison 2004, p. 185; Fordyce 1961, comment on Catullus *ad loc.*) with no sense of the Itonian cult at Athens.

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ancient Agora and initially published as [Ἀθ]εναίας/ [Ἰτ]ονείας, a restoration that is most likely correct, in spite of the subsequent doubt about Athena's by-name noted in the third edition of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*.[3] The approximate dating of the inscription to the second quarter of the fifth century BC provides a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the Itonian cult in Athens.[4]

By 429/8 BC Athena Itonia's holdings were extensive enough to figure in an inscribed inventory of the Tamiai of the Other Gods under the heading "annual receipts from the sanctuaries."[5] As Tullia Linders has noted, the inclusion in

3 See Fig. 1. This text as restored by Benjamin D. Meritt appears as the *ed. princ.* in T. L. Shear Jr. 1969, p. 417; it was thus republished in *Agora* XIX, p. 22, H1 (Agora I 7047), pl. 1. The editors of *IG* I^3 1049 subsequently published the text as [---Ἀθ]εναίας/ ---ονείας, agreeing that the inscription is a horos of Athena but doubting Meritt's restoration because of its unique spelling of the byname. Although EI for [ī] this early would be unusual (see Threatte 1980, p. 190), just as Itonê is a probable variant of Itonia (*FGrH* Rhianos F 29 [Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2.175]: τοὶ δ᾽ ἤδη ἐπὶ νηὸν εὐκνήμιδος Ἰτώνης), Ἰτονείας seems more plausible than an unknown byname with the same ending. Moreover, the restoration [Ἰτ] in the second line gives the consistent left margin common in horos inscriptions. Finally, the by-forms of Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.551 (Ἀθηναίης Ἰτωνίδος), Rhianos (*FGrH* 265 F 29 Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2.175: τοὶ δ᾽ ἤδη ἐπὶ νηὸν εὐκνήμιδος Ἰτώνης) and of Steph. Byz. (s.v. Ἴτων: Ἰτωναία ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ) indicate versatility in the spelling of the byname.

Since it will be shown later in this chapter that the sanctuary of Athena Itonia was in the southeast region of the ancient city, it may be asked whether this horos stone would have traveled so far as to be found in the Agora excavations. Such a journey is, however, neither implausible nor surprising, for the stone of many ancient monuments was brought from near and far for the many later building phases of the enduring neighborhood just north of the Areopagus. See *Agora* XVI, Indices, p. 526, s.v. "Location of stelai;" Lalonde 1971, pp. 275–280; J. Binder (in Pritchett 1998–1999, vol. 1, pp. 1–2, 9 and n. 6) for the approximately 132 pieces of inscription from the Demosion Sema found in the Agora excavations; E.B. Harrison, *Agora* XI, p. 40 (sculpture); Stupperich 1977, pp. 6–7 and Grossman 1995, p. 9 (funerary sculpture); *Agora* XVII (funerary inscriptions); *Agora* XIX, pp. 16–21, 33–51 (horoi of grave sites and security horoi of private property). Compare the case of a fourth-century horos brought to the area of the Agora from the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus (*Agora* XIX, p. 24, H13 [Agora I 6373]: [hó]ρο[ς] / [τε]μένο[ς] / [Δι]ὸς [Ὀλ]/[υμ]πί[ο]), as well as Wycherley's (1959, pp. 68–72) rebuttal of the idea of a shrine of Olympian Zeus on the northwest slope of the Acropolis as the source of that inscription.

4 Its *editio princeps* (T.L. Shear Jr. 1969, p. 417) thus dated the horos on the basis of three-barred sigma, sloping nu, and the sloping cross-bar of alpha, and the editors of *IG* I^3 1049 concurred ("a. 475–450"). The lettering resembles that of Kirchner 1948, No. 32, dated in 465 BC. Although letter-forms are a loose criterion for dating, a period as broad as twenty-five years probably allows sufficient margin for error and the possibility that the lettering is archaistic, as is sometimes the case with sacral horoi.

5 *IG* I^3 383, face A, Col. II, *v*, lines 1: ταμία[ι] τὸν ἄλλ[ον θεόν; 144–146: ἐγκυκλ[ίο] / καρπὸ ἐκ [τὸν]/ ἱερόν; 151–152: Ἀ[θεναίας / Ἰ]τονίας). The inventory of the Other Gods can be dated to 429/8 BC, because it falls under the prescript at the top of face A (lines 1–11) naming the Archon and Secretary of the *Boule* as well as the Tamiai of the Other Gods. Too little remains of the four

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this inventory of dedications and other capital in the form of Attic and foreign coinage, vessels, and other items made of precious metals indicates receipts that were part of the emergency reserve of capital that, Thucydides tells us, was set up by Perikles during the Peloponnesian War.[6] Linders also noted that, while the state borrowed these votive treasures from the shrines of various gods, during the war the majority of the objects claimed by the Tamiai stayed in the shrines where they were originally dedicated.[7] Although the portion of text that recorded the value of receipts from Athena Itonia is lost from the stele, and, as in all entries but one, the source of her revenues is not noted,[8] the heading "annual receipts" and the listed monetary figures from other cult shrines suggest the inclusion of substantial income from the lease of temple lands. If that was the case, the resources of this lesser known Athenian cult were considerable.[9] The surviving lines of this account do not indicate whether the cult and shrine of Athena Itonia were regularly under the direct control of the *polis* or of some lesser corporation, but in this case the naming of the Archon and the Secretary of the *Boule* in the prescript indicates at least collaboration at the highest level of Athenian government.

An apparent third epigraphic reference to Athena Itonia is her largely restored name in a fragment of the Athenian calendar of sacrifices,[10] part of what scholars call the "Law Code of Nikomachos," the review and re-inscription of Solonian and later laws in two stages (410/9–405/4 and 400–399 BC). The resulting texts were exhibited on stelai, probably in or near the Stoa Basileios and certainly in the Agora, where this and other such fragments have been found.[11] The calendar was a listing of gods, the type of sacrificial animal to be offered to each, the payment allocated for each animal, and the date on which

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inscribed faces of *IG* I^3 383 to tell whether they were all devoted to records of 429/8 BC. See Linders 1975, pp. 19–32; Papazarkadas 2011, pp. 26–27; for temple inventories in general, see Lewis 1986, pp. 71–81.

6 Thuc. 2.13.5: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρήσεσθαι αὐτούς. Linders 1975, pp. 28–29; cf. Lewis 1986, p. 72.

7 Linders 1975, pp. 29, 32.

8 Artemis Agrotera's tithe from the sale of slaves is noted (*IG* I^3 383, face A, Col. II, *v*, lines 155–158), perhaps because slaves were exceptional property in this account.

9 See Linders 1975, pp. 32–33 n. 85, for the parallel of the sanctuary of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile, whose revenues from leased *temenos* land were delivered to the Treasurers of the Other Gods "according to the law" (*IG* I^3 84 [418/7 BC], line 17–18).

10 Gawlinski 2007, p. 40 (Agora I 7577 [403–399 BC]; *SEG* LVII 64; Face A, Col. I, line 12: [[---] [Ἀθηναίαι Ἰτ]ωνίαι οἶ[ς] [-2–4-] / [--------]. I thank Stephen Lambert for bringing this inscription to my attention.

11 Agora I 7577 was found built into a Late Roman drain in Agora section ΒΓ, about 5 m west of the Stoa Basileios.

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each sacrifice was to be made.[12] On the fragment in question Athena Itonia is the recipient of a sheep, but as in most entries here the price of the animal is lost,[13] and nothing survives about the place, date, or frequency of sacrifices to Athena Itonia.[14]

The latest of the four extant Athenian epigraphic references to Athena Itonia is found in an inscribed law of Lykourgos (335 BC?), part of his general restoration and financing of traditional Attic cults. This text lists Athena Itonia among various deities of the city and countryside to whom belong cultic equipment—described as ornaments (*kosmoi*) of the state[15]—made or remade from older materials, and notes the source of funds for the goddess's articles as "the first fruits of the *temenê*."[16] Linders connected this document also with a literary source, noting that these *kosmoi* of Athena Itonia were probably among the wealth that Plutarch says Lykourgos brought together on the Acropolis for the adornment of the Goddess (Athena Polias).[17] A few lines after the reference to Athena Itonia the law mandates that each *kosmos* be inscribed with the name of the deity to whom it belonged,[18] thus precluding any confusion of ownership and credit when the items were deposited in the Treasury of Athena on the Acropolis.[19] The funding for Athena Itonia's *kosmoi*, the first fruits of her *temenê*, indicates that these ornaments were not votives from her shrine but other storable metallic items acquired by sale of the cult's rent receipts, which were probably in the form of produce.[20] This testimony,

12 See Lambert 2002 for an extensive treatment of the calendar and its thirteen extant fragments. Agora I 7577, fragment no. 5, at the time unpublished, was simply listed.

13 Another fragment of the Calendar lists a sheep for Athena at a price of 12 drachmas (Lambert 2002, p. 364, frag. 3 [Agora I 727] line 80), apparently the standard allocation for sheep offered to female deities on Face A of the Calendar; see Lambert 2002, pp. 396–397, for amounts allocated.

14 Athena Itonia possibly had a festival at Athens, but sacrifices do not necessarily indicate one, nor is there other probative evidence of an Itonian festival.

15 Linders 1987.

16 *IG* II^3 445 (ca. 335 a), *frag. c*, lines 36–37: ... ποήσασθαι δὲ] κ̣αὶ τ̣ῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Ἰτωνί̣ / [αι ::: κόσ]μους ἐκ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τε[μενῶν ...); see the new edition of Lambert 2005, pp. 137–144, no. 6 (= *SEG* LIV 143); Faraguna 1992, pp. 368–380; Schwenk 1985, no. 21, pp. 108–126; Lewis 1988, pp. 297–298; Parker 1996, p. 244 and, for the broader context of Lykourgos' reform, pp. 242–255; Mikalson 1998, p. 26; for the probable date of 335 BC, see Koehler 1866, p. 321.

17 Plut. *Mor.* 852 B; Linders 1972, p. 74; see also Ferguson 1932, pp. 122–123.

18 *IG* II^3 445, *frag. e*, lines 40–41: ... ἐπ̣ιγρά[ψαι] / [δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν κ]όσμον ἕκαστον, ὅτου ἂν ἦι τῷ̣ι θεῶν ἱερὸς καὶ τὸ στ[αθμὸν...

19 Faraguna 1992, pp. 368–369.

20 Faraguna 1992, pp. 339–341; Papazarkadas 2011, p. 26. See Linders 1987, for the thesis that the function of sacred treasures was complex, that they were intended to be the

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then, tends to corroborate what was inferred above from the fifth-century treasury account, that the cult of Athena Itonia had significant landed property.[21]

While the explicit evidence for the cult of Athena Itonia in Athens is limited to four fragmentary inscriptions, this is firm and informative historical evidence unclouded by mythical traditions. In sum then, what do these epigraphical sources tell us about the cult of Athena Itonia at Athens? At least during the years from the second quarter of the fifth century through the third quarter of the fourth century the cult had a *temenos* that was identified, if not also delimited, by one or more horoi, a structure that was large and secure enough to hold treasured objects, and sacred lands that were extensive enough to yield regular income from produce. The funding of animal sacrifices is evidence that the cult had an altar in an open area of its precinct. Moreover, from the state support of the cult and the implied magnitude of its properties it can fairly be inferred that the Athenian cult of Athena Itonia was one of official importance that probably had a priesthood and attendants who took care of its sanctuary and carried out the sacrifices and other rituals that were particular to the local character of the goddess.[22]

3 Location of the Sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Athens

While the preceding four epigraphic texts are the only certain references to Athena Itonia in Athens by name and the sole explicit evidence of her cult, sanctuary, and resources,[23] the Pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus* gives an apparently unique reference to Ἰτωνίαι πύλαι,[24] which topographers have long

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permanent possession of the deities that owned them, that they were not normally to be used for secular purposes, and, if borrowed, that they were supposed to be replaced.

21 *IG* I^3 383; see above, pp. 168–169, and footnotes 5–9.

22 Cf. Mikalson 2005, p. 34, on such properties of an official cult.

23 There was a possible fifth reference to Athena Itonia in a *lex sacra* dated ca. 480–450 BC (*IG* I^3 243, Face C, *fr*. 5, line 57: [.]ονίας); see the commentary on lines 56–57 for consideration of [Ἰ/τ]ονίας; cf. the restoration of the *editio princeps*: Meritt 1967, no. 4, p. 78, Face C, *fr*. 5, lines 48–49: κοι]/νονίας.

24 Pl. [*Ax.*] 364 a-b(-d). The appellation αἱ Ἰτωνίαι πύλαι from the byname is probably just economical wording and not evidence that the goddess Itonia had not yet merged with Athena when the cult came to Athens (see above, Chapter One, p. 12 and footnote 18, for Nilsson's hypothesis of Athena Itonia as a merger of a local Thessalian goddess or heroine, Itonia, with Athena). The Pseudo-Platonic reference to the Itonian Gate would not be unique if Meritt (1940, p. 72, no. 9, Col. III, lines 121–122, text, p. 68; commentary, pp. 71–72) correctly restored μέχρι τῶν / [Ἰτων]ίδων πυλῶν in an inscribed fragment (Agora I 3834) that joined *IG* II^2 463 (307/6 BC), the record of contracts for work on the city walls. Meritt's restoration and interpretation would make the Itonian Gate the

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considered a city gate that took its name from a nearby sanctuary of Athena Itonia.[25] Since we have no reason to believe that the *Axiochus* is anachronistic in fitting its topographical details to the lifetime of Socrates,[26] its mention of the Itonian Gate also bolsters the conclusion from the evidence of the inscribed horos of Athena Itonia, her treasury account, and her inclusion in the Athenian sacrificial calendar, that the Itonian cult and shrine at Athens were well established in the latter half of the fifth century.[27] Although, as far as we know, no other Athenian city wall gates were named for sanctuaries, there is a history of such naming elsewhere, and if Athena Itonia brought to Athens the military attributes of her counterpart in Thessaly, the naming of this gate may have included the purpose of presenting Athena Itonia as sharing Athena Polias' guardianship of the gates and walls of the city.[28]

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terminus of a section of the Themistoklean wall extending counterclockwise from the *diateichisma* to the south flank of the *asty*. Without evidence of a gate on the eastern slope of the Hill of the Muses, this interpretation would make the Itonian Gate the first known gate east of the *diateichisma*, that is, the gate excavated five decades ago beneath modern Erechtheiou Street. As will be argued below (pp. 177–178 and footnotes 43–44), that gate is too far west to be the Itonian Gate.

25 For the Itonian Gate as named from the nearby sanctuary, see Wachsmuth 1874, p. 151; Preller and Robert 1894, vol. 1, p. 214 n. 3; Judeich 1931, p. 141. See also Judeich, p. 135, on ways of naming city gates, and pp. 141 (with n. 2), 142, and 188, on the Itonian Gate specifically.

26 Alfred E. Taylor (1962, p. 552) thought the *Axiochus* possibly an Epicurean work of the late-fourth or early-third century BC, but Christian Gorm Tortzen tells me (*viva voce*) that the dialogue's date is uncertain and could just as well be contemporary with Plato. The date of composition is at least not earlier than 405/6 BC, for the text refers (368d) to the ten Athenian *strategoi* put on trial after the naval battle off the isles of Arginusai.

27 For these inscriptions, see above, pp. 168–171, and footnotes 2–22. Walther Judeich (1931, p. 266 and n. 28) voiced the possibility that the names of all city wall gates were not firmly established by the end of the fifth century BC, but in view of the firm epigraphic evidence of the cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia in the latter half of that century, the Itonian Gate was likely so called by that period.

28 Further evidence of Athena's association with the mural defenses of Athens is the "horos of the moat of Athena" (*SEG* XXI 651: ὅρος τέλμα/τος Ἀθηνάας [beg. 4th c. BC]); Threpsiades 1960, pp. 26–27; Wycherley 1978, p. 21 and n. 27; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 158, 176 (fig. 229), 301, 407 (fig. 602:E); Knigge 1988, p. 78; Theocharaki 2015, p. 200 and n. 58; see also *Agora* XIX L 10, ll. 40–42; *IG* II^2 2495, line 6–8 (Theocharaki 2015, p. 285 and n. 108); Papazarkadas 2011, p. 21 and n. 23; beyond Attica, cf. the Onkaian Gate at Thebes next to the shrine of Athena Onka, and the view of Francis Vian (1963, p. 140), citing Aesch. *Sept*. 164 (πρὸ πόλεως), 486–487 (γείτονας πύλας ἔχων / Ὄγκας Ἀθάνας,), and 501–502 (Ὄγκα Παλλάς, ἥτ' ἀγχίπτολις, / πύλαισι γείτων,), that this Athena was to be understood as guardian of the gate and a defender of Thebes; further on the Onkaian Gate: Nonnus, *Dion.* 5.15; 5.70–73; 44.38–41; Schachter 1981–1994, vol. 1, pp. 130–131.

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The *Axiochus* opens with Socrates saying that he was going out to Kynosarges and had reached a point down the Ilissos River when he heard someone shouting his name. Turning in the direction of the call, he saw Axiochos' son Kleinias, along with Damon and Charmides, running toward Kallirrhoê.[29] Socrates responds to the shouts by reversing his direction to meet Kleinias and his two friends, presumably by Kallirrhoê,[30] and, on learning that he was needed to comfort the dying Axiochos, he says, "We went quickly on the road along the wall as far as the Itonian Gate, for he lived near the gate by the Amazon stele."[31] We are most likely to think of the four men as hurrying along the ring road outside the city wall, southwestward from Kallirrhoê.[32]

29 Pl. [*Ax.*] 364 a–b: Ἐξιόντι μοι ἐς Κυνόσαργες καὶ γενομένῳ μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισὸν διῆξε φωνὴ βοῶντός του, "Σώκρατες, Σώκρατες." ὡς δὲ ἐπιστραφεὶς περιεσκόπουν ὁπόθεν εἴη, Κλεινίαν ὁρῶ τὸν Ἀξιόχου θέοντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρρόην (here and henceforth, Budé series, *Platon: Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. XIII, part 3, ed. J. Souilhé, Paris 1930). I understand, as a key point in the interpretation of this scene, that κατὰ + acc. (κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισὸν) signifies, as it often does with watercourses, the direction "downstream" (LSJ, s.v. κατά, B, I, 1). The district of Kynosarges was outside the southeast city wall and is thought to have extended along the left bank of the Ilissos for at least 500 meters southwestward and downstream from Kallirrhoê (Map 4); see also Eust. *Od.* 13.408; Plut. *Them.* 1.3; Diog. Laert. 6.13; Steph. Byz. s.v. Κυνόσαργες; Billot 1992, pp. 120–129 and figs. 1–3; Judeich 1931, pp. 422–424; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 340–341, 579, figs. 219, 379; for the entire Ilissos area, see Marchiandi et al. 2011. Since Kynosarges' most prominent institution was the gymnasium dedicated to Herakles, readers of the *Axiochus* were probably to infer that Socrates was on his way to that public place to exercise, bathe, or hold court, as was his wont. Kallirrhoê was the fountain located 80 meters south of the southeast corner of the Olympieion precinct at the point where the river bed was cut artificially deep and narrow to accommodate a bridge over the Ilissos, the crossing point to Agrai or Agra that Socrates refers to in Pl. *Phdr.* 229c, and presumably where he would have crossed on his way to Kynosarges in the *Axiochus.* For Kallirrhoê, see also Paus. 1.19.6; Judeich 1931, pp. 195–196 (incl. n. 3), and Plan I, H-7; Travlos, *Athens*, p. 204 and figs. 154, 155, 268; Marchiandi et al. 2011, pp. 476–479, figs. 261–263. Nothing of the bridge survives, but Travlos (*Athens*) located it where a trench was cut into the bedrock of the riverbed (marked "διάβασις" on his plan, p. 114, fig. 154, no. 156).

30 Pl. [*Ax.*] 364a: ἐδόκει οὖν μοι ἀφεμένῳ τῆς εὐθὺ ὁδοῦ ἀπαντᾶν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ῥᾷστα ὁμοῦ γενοίμεθα. As I envision this scene, Socrates, having crossed the bridge at Kallirrhoê, was going down the left bank of the Ilissos, while Kleinias, running upstream on the right bank toward Kallirrhoê, hailed Socrates across the river. For various interpretations, see Skias 1894, pp. 289–291; *RE* V, 1905, cols. 830–831, s.v. Diomeia (A. Milchhöfer); Judeich 1931, p. 141 n. 2; Delorme 1960, p. 47; Papahatzis 1994–1995, vol. 1, pp. 135–138; Billot 1992, pp. 121–123; 1994, pp. 950–951.

31 [*Ax.*] 364d–365 a: Ὡς δὲ θᾶττον τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἤειμεν ταῖς Ἰτωνίαις—πλησίον γὰρ ᾤκει τῶν πυλῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἀμαζονίδι στήλῃ.

32 So Papahatzis 1994–1995, vol. 1, pp. 135–138. The phrase τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος, with τὴν as an ellipsis for τὴν ὁδόν, refers to one of the ring roads that circled the city inside and outside its wall to facilitate defense and movement around the city. Though their discovered sections date from the fourth century BC and later, ring roads would have been an essential

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Centuries later Plutarch gives a link to Pseudo-Plato's mention of the Itonian Gate and the Amazon stele by reporting, "the stele near the shrine of Ge Olympia was set up for her [the Amazon]."[33] After another generation or two, we get corroboration of Plutarch's testimony, when Pausanias, after referring to various sanctuaries from Phaleron Bay to the walled city,[34] writes, "when one has entered the *polis*, there is a tomb of Antiope the Amazon."[35] Later, in another route through Athens, Pausanias also confirms Plutarch's location of the shrine of Olympian Ge in this region of Athens, noting among the antiquities in the *peribolos* of Olympian Zeus "a *temenos* of Ge with the byname Olympia."[36] From these compatible allusions of Pseudo-Plato, Plutarch

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part of the Themistoklean circuit. In Plato's *Lysis* (203a) Socrates takes a ring road on his walk from the Academy, west of the city, to the Lykeion, east of the city. For these roads in general, see Theocharaki 2015, pp. 176–177 (Οἱ περιφερειακὲς ὁδοί); Theocharaki 2011, p. 82, fig. 1:b (code Th60 and Th66); p. 94, Table 2 (Th60,Th66); p. 146. See also Costaki 2006, pp. 133–134; Knigge 1988, pp. 57, 63, 76–77 and fig. 68; Judeich 1931, p. 186, nn. 3–5.

33 Plut. *Thes*. 27.5–6: τὴν στήλην τὴν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κεῖσθαι (ed. I. Bekker). Cf. Frazer's (1898, vol. 2, p. 37, commentary on Paus. 1.2.1) unnecessary reading of Plutarch's τῆς Ὀλυμπίας as Γῆς Ὀλυμπίας, which TLG (Paus. *loc. cit*.) has expanded to τῆς Γῆς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας. Plutarch's τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερὸν is undoubtedly the sanctuary of Ge that Thucydides (2.15.3–4) mentions along with those of Olympian Zeus and other gods as being south of the Acropolis. Plutarch (*loc. cit*.) also cites Kleidemos of Athens (*FGrH* 323 F 18) for the correction of the Amazon's name from Antiope to Hippolyta.

34 Paus. 1.1.4–5.

35 Paus. 1.2.1: ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀντιόπης μνῆμα Ἀμαζόνος. Why do Plutarch and Pausanias not mention the Itonian Gate, which Pseudo-Plato says is near the Amazon tomb? Though all the explicit evidence for the Itonian cult and its namesake gate is from the Classical period, we should not necessarily conclude that Plutarch and Pausanias are silent because the gate and shrine were extinct in the second century after Christ. An explanation of Pausanias may be that he, to quote Richard E. Wycherley (1960, p. 66 n. 23), "covers the ground jumpily, and his account is correspondingly sketchy," even when his narration is regularly in "successive topographical sequences." That said, while reference to the Amazon's tomb is a clear bridge between the *Axiochus* and accounts of Plutarch and Pausanias, it must be admitted that if the later authors were writing from their own observations, some details of Athenian topography may have changed during the centuries since Pseudo-Plato.

36 Paus. 1.18.7: ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖα ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ … καὶ τέμενος ‹Γῆς› τὴν ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας. Since Plutarch sites the Amazon stele near the shrine of Olympia, why does Pausanias note the stele after entering the city from Phaleron but mentions the shrine of Ge Olympia only much later and as being *within* the peribolos of Olympian Zeus? Plutarch, writing before the great Hadrianic peribolos wall of the Olympieion was constructed about AD 132, probably saw the two sites together or in close succession, whereas Pausanias, writing after AD 132, saw the Amazon tomb but then faced the high peribolos wall without an entrance near its southwestern perimeter. In fact, immediately after his allusion to entering the *asty* from Phaleron and seeing the Amazon stele, Pausanias shifts his narrative

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and Pausanias we can infer preliminarily that the Itonian Gate was located in the Themistoklean wall at some distance south and somewhat west of the Olympieion and Kallirrhoê. Inside and not far from the Itonian Gate were the Amazon stele and the shrine of Olympian Ge, the latter within the Olympieion precinct and, after ca. AD 132, inside its peribolos wall. Archaeological discoveries and studies of the ancient city wall, its gates, and associated roads have accumulated through the modern centuries to the present day. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries traveling savants included in their studies of Athenian topography and monuments hypothesized locations of city gates named in ancient sources, some scholars inferring from Pausanias' account that the Itonian Gate was over a main road from the deme and port of Phaleron.[37] Starting from the late nineteenth century, purposeful scientific excavations and chance discoveries of remnants of ancient wall, gates, streets, cemeteries, and shrines around the southern limit of the ancient *asty*, and the major twentieth-century topographical works of Walther Judeich, Richard

(1.2.2) to Piraeus and an alternate route up to and through the city, with a long succession of sites and historical digressions via the Kerameikos, the Agora, the North Slope of the Acropolis and through the propylon of the Olympieion, wherein he finally observes (1.18.7) the shrine of Olympian Ge. James G. Frazer (1898, vol. 2, p. 182, on Paus. 1.18.7) thus wrote plausibly that "the precinct of Olympian Earth seems to have lain somewhere to the south of the temple of Olympian Zeus." Travlos, however, must have overlooked Pausanias' statement that the shrine of Ge was within the precinct of Zeus, for his plan (*Athens*, p. 291, fig. 379, no. 187) has the shrine of Ge on the rocky spur just outside the southwest corner of the Hadrianic peribolos wall. The large-scale ancient bronze-casting workshops that Travlos excavated on this spur in 1939 (unpublished; see Mattusch 1977, p. 340 n. 1; Amandry 1940, p. 237) also make this an unlikely site for the shrine of Olympian Ge. Likewise, Travlos's specific location of the Amazon stele (*Athens*, p. 291, fig. 379, no. 188) in the same area should be considered conjectural.

37 See Theocharaki 2015, pp. 84, 88–90, 104, 117, 264–265, for attention to the ancient city wall gates, including the Itonian, by early modern scholars; e.g., Meurs 1617; 1624; Babin 1674, La Guilletière 1675; Guillet 1679; Spon 1679; Potter 1706; Spon and Wheler 1724; Chandler 1776; Stuart and Revett 1794. See Leake 1841, map after p. CXIV (repr. in Theocharaki 2015, p. 110, fig. 20), for a map of Athens with the Itonian Gate located centrally in the south city wall over a road to Phaleron; see also Dodwell 1819; Ross 1846; Wachsmuth 1874; Milchhöfer, in Curtius and Kaupert 1881–1900, *Erläuternder Text*, II. For the projected main road from Phaleron and its intersection with the line of the Themistoklean Wall, see Papahatzis, 1994–1995, vol. 1, plan, pp. 142–143, no. 14; Taxiarchi 2009; Ulrichs 1863, pp. 159–167; Wachsmuth 1874, pp. 151–152; Curtius and Kaupert 1878, sheet III; Milchhöfer 1885, pp. 144–145, 147, 149 and map 1; Curtius, 1891, fig. IV; *RE* Suppl. I, 1903, cols. 195–196, s.v. Athenai (C. Wachsmuth); Judeich 1931, pp. 140–142, incl. notes, and Plan I, coordinates G/H-7/8; Travlos, *Athens*, p. 164, fig. 213, no. 221; Travlos 1960, p. 51, fig. 20; p. 53; plan between pp. 74 and 75; Wycherley 1961, p. 153, fig. 1.

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Wycherley, and John Travlos gradually made possible more detailed and more plausible inferences about the locations of the Itonian Gate and its eponymous sanctuary of Athena.[38] In the new millennium, our knowledge of the ancient city gates has been greatly enhanced by Leda Costaki's major study of the road system of ancient Athens, and by the first comprehensive treatise on the ancient city walls by Anna Maria Theocharaki.[39]

The addition of modern archaeological and topographical scholarship to the evidence of ancient inscriptions and literature allows us to advance the quest for the location of the Itonian Gate and its eponymous sanctuary of Athena by a close review of the gates in the southern line of the Themistoklean wall. At the outset it is possible to rule out those gates whose topography and archaeology are incompatible with the combined literary testimonia.[40] The author of the *Axiochus* can hardly have had in mind that Socrates, after meeting Kleinias and his friends at Kallirrhoê, went along the wall to a gate father to the northeast, such as that immediately west of the propylon of the Olympieion

38 Judeich 1931; Wycherley, *Agora* III; 1959; 1960; 1961; 1962; 1978; Travlos, *Athens*: 1960; 1970; 1993; Travlos, *Attika*.

39 Costaki 2006; Kostaki 2009; Theocharaki 2007; 2011; 2015. See especially Theocharaki 2015, pp. 264–312, on the ancient city gates, whose existence and location are predicated on the basis of four categories of criteria: 1) remains of gate; 2) constituent elements of the fortification which form the approach to a gate; e.g., sections of the proteichisma and moat; 3) break in the moat or presence of intermittent transverse walls of the moat; 4) location and direction of ancient roads in relation to the wall. In the following pages of the present chapter, it will be seen that the actual and postulated gates in the southern line of the Themistoklean wall fall into three of these four categories.

40 In Map 4 and the narrative of the present chapter, gates in the southern line of the Themistoklean wall are differentiated by the Roman numeral designations of Travlos (*Athens*; see pp. 168–169, fig. 219; p. 291, fig. 379), and the alphanumerical code of references (Θ+numerals) in Theocharaki 2015 (see, e.g., p. 271, figs. 97–98, p. 282, fig. 99, and the folded plan), or with reference to proximate landmarks, usually modern streets. Such designations mitigate the problem of dealing with a scholarly history in which individual gates are matched with various names found in ancient writing or given by modern writers (see Judeich, 1931, p. 135). Travlos's Roman numerals at least are only a temporary and partial convenience, for the total number of city gates at any period is uncertain, and the spacing of gates, being determined in great part by the location of old roads to and from the city, would not have conformed to a close standard. The spacing of gates is known only with certainty for the Sacred Gate and Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos (Theocharaki 2011, fold-out plan between pp. 82 and 83, Th 1; Theocharaki 2015, p. 270, fig. 95, Θ 1), and the two successive gates in the late-fourth-century *diateichisma* between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Mouseion (Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 160–161, 168–169, fig. 219, gates XIV [*Dipylon above the Gates*] and XV [*Melitides Gate*]).

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precinct (Map 4, IX; Θ61),[41] for this region is implausibly far from Pausanias' envisioned itinerary from Phaleron into the city and to the Amazon stele. It is also unlikely that the Itonian Gate was the hypothesized Themistoklean counterpart of the Valerian gate close by Kallirrhoê (Map 4, X),[42] for it would then be illogical for Socrates to say, after meeting Kleinias at Kallirrhoê, "we went quickly on the road along the wall as far as the Itonian Gate." Turning to the opposite extent of the southern boundary of the *asty*, we have evidence of three actual or postulated passages through the Themistoklean wall. Immediately east of the Hill of the Muses are remnants of a gate that Ioannes Meliades excavated beneath the width of the pavement at modern Erechtheiou Street 25 (Map 4, XIII; Θ97).[43] Meliades assigned no ancient name to this gate but identified it with one described in a late-fifth-century decree as a reference point in provisions for irrigation of the *temenos* of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile.[44]

41 Travlos (*Athens*, p. 160, Gate IX; pp. 168–169, fig. 219) settled on the name Hippades for this gate; see also: Judeich 1931, p. 143 and n. 2, and Plan I, H-6; Theocharaki 2015, pp. 275–276, and folded plan, Θ61; see also Theocharaki 2015, ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΘΕΣΕΩΝ (hereafter ΚΑΘ), pp. 369–370, Θ61; Theocharaki 2011, p. 79, Table 1 (Th56) and fold-out plan between pp. 82 and 83, Th56.

42 The only remains of a ancient gate in this vicinity are in the wall ascribed to the Roman emperor Valerian (see Theocharaki 2015, pp. 297–298, 271, fig. 97, B16, folded plan [B16], and ΚΑΘ, pp. 403–404, B16), but the direction of an Archaic road (see Kostaki 2009, 109, fig. 5.15) suggests that it must have passed through a gate in the presumed line of the Themistoklean wall about 35 m south of the southeast part of the Olympieion precinct. For this presumed gate and its approximate location, see Theocharaki 2015, pp. 297–298 (s.v. ΠΥΛΗ (;) ΝΟΤΙΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΕΙΟΥ), 271, fig. 97, circle marked *Νοτίως Ὀλυμπιείου*. Travlos (*Athens*, pp. 160–161, 168–169, fig. 219:X; p. 291, fig. 379:X) identified this postulated gate as the Diomeian and assumed it to be that mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (6.13) and Plutarch (*Them.* 1.2) in connection with Kynosarges gymnasium. Cf. below, Appendix, pp. 258–260 and footnotes 17–24, for a unique opinion that this was the Itonian Gate.

43 Meliades 1955, pp. 38–45 and figs. 1 and 2; Theocharaki 2015, pp. 279–281, 282, fig. 99, Θ97; folded plan (Θ97); ΚΑΘ, pp. 386–387, Θ97; Theocharaki 2011, pp. 85, fig. 3 (Th89); pp. 107–108 with nn. 77–79 and fig. 14; p. 80, Table 1, Th89-Th89.1; p. 82, fig. 1:d (Th89); see also Marchiandi et al. 2011, pp. 410–415, fig. 224; Tsouklidou-Penna 1982, pp. 22–23; Brouskari 1980, pp. 14–15, 31, especially p. 13, fig 1, Wall A; Kostaki 2009, 109, fig. 5.15; Stavropoulos 1965, B'1, pp. 84–87. Although remains of this gate dated from the fourth century, Travlos (1960, p. 53; *Athens*, pp. 160, 168–169, fig. 219, no. XIII) reported evidence of an entrance in the fifth-century wall at the same location. The antiquity of the roadway that passes through this gate is indicated by nearby burials from the Submycenaean to the early Hellenistic periods; Meliades 1955, pp. 43–45; Theocharaki 2015, p. 280. For sections of ancient street oriented to the Erechtheiou Gate and Phaleron, see Costaki 2006, pp. 377–378, 390–397.

44 *IG* I^3 84 (418/7 BC), lines 35–36: τôν πυλôν ἓ<ι> ἄλαδε ἐ[χ]σελα/ύνοσιν οἱ μύσται ("the gate by which the initiates go to the sea"). *Ed. princ.* Koumanoudis 1884, pp. 161–166. For the

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About 32 meters east of Erechtheiou Street, at the plot of modern Parthenonos Street, 19–25 (Map 4, Θ93), excavation revealed a postern gate (πυλίς) through the city wall.[45] A further 150 meters eastward at modern Metsaion Street (Map 4, Θ87) another gate is hypothesized from the direction of roads toward the line of the Themistoklean fortification and the likely need for another passage to the port of Phaleron in the long stretch of wall between the major gates at Erechtheiou and Phalirou Streets.[46] While these three passages through the wall would have served routes between the city and Phaleron, they are all too far away from the Amazon stele and the sanctuary of Ge Olympia to be the Itonian Gate.

By the late 1960s archaeological evidence pointed to at least two more gates in the line of the southern city wall between the postulated gate near Kallirrhoê (X; *νοτίως Ὀλυμπιείου*) and that at Erechtheiou Street 25 (XIII; Θ97). In an area studied by Antonios Keramopoullos in 1923–1924,[47] about 500 meters southwest of the Olympieion, near the convergence of modern Phalirou and Spirou Donta Streets, remains of the wall, the *proteichisma*, the moat, an ancient road from Phaleron, and a roadside cemetery indicated a gate through the Themistoklean circuit (Map 4, XII; between Θ81–Θ82 and Θ83).[48] Judeich,

decree, see Osborne and Rhodes, *GHI*, no. 167. For the shrine of Kodros, see Marchiandi et al. 2011, pp. 421–423. The sanctuary of Demeter that Pausanias (1.1.4) observed in Phaleron may have been the objective of the *mystai* who passed through this gate. For more on this "gate to the sea," see below, pp. 179–180 and footnote 52. Judeich (1931, pp. 142, 387–388) and Travlos (*Athens*, pp. 332–333 and fig. 435) located the *temenos* of Kodros, Neleus and Basile just inside the southern line of the Themistoklean wall by associating it with a horos of the mid-fifth century BC (*IG* I^3 1076: hόρος τô hιερô; see Travlos, *Athens*, p. 334, fig. 436) found in situ at the intersection of modern Syngrou Avenue and Hatzichristou Street. Cf. Wycherley (1960, pp. 60–66) and Hooker (1960, pp. 115–116), who put the *temenos* farther south, beyond the city wall. On this debates see also Osborne and Rhodes, *GHI*, pp. 402–403.

45 For this postern, see Theocharaki 2015, p. 279, 282, fig. 99 (Θ93); ΚΑΘ. p. 384, Θ93; folded plan (Θ92–Θ95). The width of the passage of a single meter is derived from the plan of the excavation; see Liankouras 1973–1974, Β'1, pp. 45–47, plan 8; see also Marchiandi et al. 2011, pp. 413–414, fig. 226.

46 The opening in the wall by Metsaion Street is indicated in a sketch by John Travlos from the excavation of 1950 (see Theocharaki 2015, p. 198, fig. 65); see also Theocharaki 2015, pp. 299–300, 282, fig. 99 (Θ87); ΚΑΘ, pp. 380–381, Θ87; folded plan (Θ87). For the complex of ancient roads in the area, including those oriented to the line of the Themistoklean wall, see Costaki 2006, pp. 126–127, 378–379 (II.34); Kostaki 2009, p. 109, plan 5.15; Kokkoliou 2001–2004, pp. 204–205; Adreiomenou 1966, pp. 84–85; Threpsiades 1950, p. 70 and pl. Α'.

47 For the investigation of Keramopoullos, see Threpsiades 1971, p. 15.

48 For this gate, see Theocharaki 2015, pp. 298–299, 271 with fig. 98, Θ81–Θ83; ΚΑΘ, pp. 378–379, Θ81–Θ83; folded plan (Θ81–Θ84); Theocharaki 2011, p. 79, Table 1, and fold-out plan

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following Curtius and Kaupert, had named this the Diomeian Gate, and, as opposed to Meliades, identified it with "the gate to the sea" in *IG* I^3 84.[49] In his work of 1960, John Travlos designated the proposed gate at Phalirou and Donta Streets as the Itonian and agreed with Meliades's identification of the gate at Erechtheiou Street as the "gate to the sea."[50] In 1965, however, the Athenian Telephone Company uncovered in front of 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street, about 200 meters southwest of Kallirrhoê, a socle at an obtuse angle in an opening of the fourth-century wall that archaeologists deemed the side of a minor (postern) gate over an ancient road from the south (Map 4, XI; Θ63).[51] After these discoveries, Travlos's new summary of the city gates in 1971 shifted some names eastward, designating the opening at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon (XI) the Itonian Gate, that at Phalirou and Spirou Donta (XII) the "*Halade Gate*," and naming the gate at Erechtheiou Street (XIII) simply "South Gate."[52] The opening in the wall in front of 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street seems to have been a defensive

(Th72–76); Marchiandi et al. 2011, pp. 417–420; Stavropoullos 1965, p. 91, fig. 31; Alexandri 1967, pp. 72–74; 1968, pp. 95, 98; 1972, pp. 105–106. For the major ancient road from the southwest that entered the city through this gate see Costaki 2006, pp. 399–400 (II.58), p. 406 (II.64), pp. 411–412 (II.72, II.73, II.74); Kostaki 2009, 109, fig. 5.15; Taxiarchi 2009.

49 Curtius and Kaupert 1878, Pl. 10, Die Umgebung der Kallirrhoë (repr. in Theocharaki 2015, p. 133. fig. 23); Marchiandi et al. 20011, p. 415; Judeich 1931, p. 142 and Plan I, F-7; on the "gate to the sea," see above, pp. 177–178 x and footnote 44, and this page, and footnote 52.

50 See Travlos 1960, pp. 53, 74 and 75 (plan, s.v. ΙΤΩΝΙΑΙ ΠΥΛΑΙ); Wycherley 1961, p. 153, fig. I; see also Billot 1992, pp. 123; 1994, p. 950; Poulou 2013, p. 242.

51 See initially Philippaki 1966, pp. 65–68, fig. 11, and pl. 78:β-e; Travlos, *Athens* pp. 160, 168–169, fig. 219, XI. Marchiandi et al. 2011, pp. 428–430, fig. 233. Road associated with this gate: Kostaki 2009, 109, fig. 5.15.

52 Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 160, 168–169, fig. 219, nos. XI–XIII; see also Wycherley (1978, p. 17). Though Travlos now (*Athens*, p. 160) gave his gate XII the formal name, "*Halade Gate* (Seaward Gate)," the word ἅλαδε in *IG* I^3 84 may be simply part of a descriptive phrase identifying this gate by the southward processional route that passed through it; cf. in the immediately following lines (36–37) of *IG* I^3 84 the reference to another gate near the shrine of Kodros by a destination of the road that passed through it (τôν πυλôν αἳ ἐπὶ τὸ ἰσθμονίκο βαλανεîον ἐκφέροσι ["the gate that leads to the Isthmonian Bath"]), which Travlos (*Athens*, p. 160, no. XI and pp. 180 and 332) understood as just another way of referring to his Itonian Gate (XI; so also Osborne and Rhodes, *GHI*, no. 167, p. 402). A noteworthy parallel to this point is the thesis of Angelos Matthaiou (1983, pp. 7–18) that the phrase ἠρίαι πύλαι did not name an Eriai Gate but was simply a popular description of various gates with tombs (ἠρίαι) outside them. Even if Athenians sometimes called Gate XII "τôν πυλôν ἓ<ι> ἅλαδε ἐ[χ]σελα/ύνοσιν οἱ μύσται," city gates, as Judeich (1931, pp. 135–136) and Theocharaki (2015, pp. 266–267) have noted, sometimes had more than one designation, official or unofficial; e.g., the main west gate of Athens was variously called (from its plan) the Dipylon (at least by 278/7 BC [*IG* II^2 673]; Polyb. 16.25.7; Liv. 31.24.9), (from the plain to which it led) the Thriasian (Plut. *Per*. 30.3; Harp. s.v. Ἀνθεμόκριτος; Hsch. s.v. Θριάσιαι), and (from the district in which it lay) the Kerameikos Gate (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.580; Hsch. s.v.

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postern comprising a narrow entrance at an oblique SW-NE angle and an interior spur wall at the same angle. The effect was a sally-port, where defensive preparations within would have been invisible to besiegers, and those breaking through the postern would have found themselves in a trap and vulnerable to attack from the spur wall.[53]

Although Travlos, followed by Wycherley, noted only Gates XI and XII in the southern Themistoklean wall between Kallirrhoê and Erechtheiou Street, Theocharaki's study shows that for such reasons as destruction, replacement, overbuilding, and limited excavation, we may not have a complete picture of the wall and gates of the Classical period.[54] There may be places, then, where gates have been destroyed, yet undiscovered, or only suggested by secondary physical evidence. For example, on fairly level ground about 100 meters south of the postern at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon, a vertical wall of the moat and stretches of road that approach the line of the city wall suggest a major gate around Vourvachi Street 5-7-9 (Map 4, Θ67). Judeich identified this apparent gate as the "Itonian."[55]

Κεραμεικός); see Travlos, *Athens* p. 159, s.v. Dipylon Gate. It would not be surprising if there were gates for which we have no known ancient names; cf. Travlos's "South Gate" (XIII).

53 Theocharaki 2015, pp. 276–279, p. 271, fig. 97, Θ63; ΚΑΘ, p. 370, Θ63, including s.v. Εὑρήματα ὀχύρωσης; folded plan (Θ63); Theocharaki 2011, p. 79, Table 1, map code, Th58; fold-out plan between pp. 82 and 83 (Th60-Th69). The approach to this postern is rather steep in comparison with that of a gate for carriage traffic, e.g., the road leading to an apparent gate in the wall at Vourvachi Street (for which, see below, p. 180 and footnote 55). The incline to the postern can be seen in the contour lines of Judeich 1931, Plan 1. A Hellenistic road with a N-S orientation that may have been oriented to this narrow passage has been excavated in two stretches approximately 110 m inside the city wall at the land plots at Syngrou Avenue 6 and 10; see Alexandri 1973; see also Costaki 2006, pp. 375–376, and the reconstruction at Kostaki 2009, 109, fig. 5.15. See Winter 1971, pp. 238–239: posterns in the walls of the Athenian *asty*, the Long Walls, and the fortifications of Piraeus; p. 244: analogous to the opening at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon is an oblique postern north of the western gate on the Epipolai at Syracuse.

54 See Theocharaki 2011, pp. 104–137, for construction on the city wall in successive periods of its history, and the foldout plan between pp. 82 and 83 that shows all of the discovered stretches of the wall.

55 Judeich 1931, p. 141 and Plan 1, G-7 (*Itonisches Thor*). For this putative gate at Vourvachi Street, see Theocharaki 2015, pp. 291–294, 271 and fig. 98, Θ67; folded plan (Θ67); ΚΑΘ, pp. 371–372, Θ63. Theocharaki 2011, p. 79, Table 1, Th60; p. 82, fig. 1:b; pp. 100–101, Table 2, Th60; also, unpublished text of Theocharaki's *omilia* of 1/2014, s.v. Vourvachi Street Gate; see also Marchiandi et al. 2011, pp. 426–428, fig. 232. For the streets associated with this gate, see Costaki 2006, pp. 389–390, 408–409; Kostaki 2009, fig. 5:15; Alexandri 1972, pp. 43–47.

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The ancient evidence and modern scholarship noted in the foregoing resumé may now allow us to consider a plausible identification of the Itonian Gate and from that the approximate location of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia. First we should note that, on the basis of Pausanias' text alone, the gate by which he envisions entering the city from Phaleron is not necessarily the Itonian Gate, for all of the gates from 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street (XI; Θ63) to Erechtheiou Street (XIII; Θ97) could be entered directly or indirectly by roads from Phaleron, and Pausanias does not say how soon after the envisioned entry one sees the Amazon stele by the Olympieion precinct.[56] Since Plutarch and Pausanias make clear that the tomb of the Amazon is at least close to the Olympieion precinct, and the shrine of Ge is within it, we must assume that this would be the southwest region of the peribolos of Olympian Zeus.[57] If these shrines were in the eastern region of the Olympieion, Socrates and his friends would logically approach them and the house of Axiochos by entering the city directly through the gate (X; *νοτίως Ὀλυμπιείου*) near their meeting-place at Kallirrhoê. By further reasoning, Socrates and Kleinias would most expeditiously reach the area near the southwest corner of the Olympieion precinct by "going quickly on the [ring] road by the wall" ([*Ax.*] 364–365a) to the next gate to the west, that is, among the gates of which we have evidence, the postern at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street. Thus the sum of the extant evidence tends to support Travlos in his final identification of Gate XI as the Itonian Gate. Although our knowledge of the ancient city gates in this region may not be thorough enough to put Travlos's identification of the Itonian Gate beyond any doubt, none of what we know of the postern at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street precludes that identification. Since the physical evidence at this location lies close to discovered remains of the Themistoklean wall, its location is compatible with the topography depicted in the *Axiochus*. Although the dating of this postern is somewhat later than the lifetime of Socrates, it is possible that the Pseudo-Platonic writer was also later and setting the scene as it was in his time. Nor is it precluded that the entry-point to the city at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street had a fifth-century

56 Paus. 1.2.1: ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀντιόπης μνῆμα Ἀμαζόνος. *Pace* Travlos, *Athens*, p. 160, s.v. "XI The *Itonian Gate*": "one sees the stele of the Amazon Antiope *just as* [my emphasis] one enters the city." Travlos's loose interpretation of the text is of course plausible, if, as he ultimately determined, the gate by which Pausanias entered the city was that at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street, i.e., the Itonian Gate (XI).

57 So Travlos, *Athens*, p. 160, s.v. "XI The *Itonian Gate.*"

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predecessor, be it another postern (πυλίς) or, as the *Axiochus* suggests, a proper gate (Ἰτώνιαι πύλαι). Since Socrates and his friends are on foot and their objective is the quickest route to the home of Axiochos, the narrow passage of a πυλίς and the steep approach to it would not be obstacles.[58]

The location of the Itonian Gate is thus closely enough determined to point to the primary objective of this part of the present chapter, the approximate location of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia. The *temenos* was possibly between the line of the city wall and the right bank of the Ilissos River, but more likely across the river in Kynosarges, on the relatively flat stretches of ground along its left bank,[59] and near a road that entered the city through the gate named for the goddess.[60] This area was the approach to the region of southeastern Athens that Thucydides (2.15.3–6) notes was the focus of city life in the centuries before his time and noteworthy for buildings and monuments of the Peisistratid regime. While the approximate location of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia and its associated topography are only a nuanced amplification of the belief of some earlier scholars about the topography and history of this Athenian cult, these approximations will prove to be also a significant body of indirect evidence in the investigation of the source, chronology, and circumstances of the propagation of the cult to Athens, the subject that now follows.

58 Though it may be objected that the postern at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street received more directly a road from Sounion, Pausanias' envisioned route from Phaleron could have reached it indirectly.

59 The stream of the Ilissos as a whole has had many divagations over the centuries, but in this area ancient foundations and the chain of hills to the south assure us that the course of the river and the fairly level terrain along its left bank have not changed significantly since antiquity. This terrain can be seen very clearly on the high-resolution contour map of the Hellenic Military Geographical Service updated in 1989; see also Judeich 1931, Plan I; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 168–169, fig. 219.

60 The area on both sides of the Ilissos is well illustrated in Travlos, *Athens*, p. 291, fig. 379. If, as noted above (pp. 168–171 and footnotes 15–21), Athena Itonia's entry in the inventory of the Treasurers of the Other Gods of 429/8 BC (*IG* I^3 383) and her mention in the Lykourgan law about 335 BC (*IG* II^3 1, 445) imply that the goddess had substantial income from the lease of temple lands, and these lands were contiguous with her central place of worship, this may indicate that her sanctuary was outside the city wall and in rather open ground. A caveat to this hypothesis that the Itonian sanctuary lay a fair distance beyond the Themistoklean city wall is the view that the *temenos* of Kodros, Neleus and Basile with its olive groves was, according to Judeich and others, within the wall (see above 177–178 and footnote 44), though Judeich (1931, p. 141 n. 1) also inferred that it was relatively small.

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4 Origins of The Itonian Cult at Athens: Chronology and Circumstances

In view of the evidence presented in the first chapter of this book, that the worship of Athena Itonia most likely began in prehistoric Thessaly, where the month Itonios was widespread in festival calendars, and where, according to the hypothesis of Martin Nilsson, the goddess Athena merged with Itonia, a local deity or heroine of Iton, an age-old town that Homer includes in his Catalogue of Ships, we can fairly leave aside any idea that the cult was originally Athenian.[61] Since the extant evidence of devotion to Athena Itonia is fragmentary and from disparate parts of Greece, it is of course conceivable that Athens acquired her cult from a place where no trace of it has come to light.[62] It is reasonable and practical, however, to follow the lead of those scholars who have suggested that the Itonian cult came to Athens from a region of Greece where we have substantial ancient testimony of its earlier existence. Since there is no ancient testimony or modern scholarly argument that the Athenians received the cult from Boiotia or the Cycladic island of Amorgos, the other two places of its significant manifestation, scholars have logically turned to Thessaly as the likely source.[63]

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61 See below, Appendix, for discussion of a unique set of arguments that the Itonian cult originated at Athens.

62 See above, Chapter One, pp. 9–10 and footnote 4.

63 See above, Chapter Two, for the Itonian cult in Boiotia, centered at Athena's sanctuary in Koroneia. Though its proximity to Attica might otherwise make Boiotia a plausible source of the Athenian cult, the relations of Boiotia and Athens in much of the sixth and early fifth centuries, the likely period of the cult's transmission, were characterized by a chronic hostility that was not very conducive to the sharing of a cult that was, at least in Thessaly and Boiotia, largely military and political in character; see Lagos 2009, p. 82 n. 8. Cf., however, an amendment to the sacred calendar of the Attic deme of Thorikos recording the offering of a sheep to the "Heroines of the Koroneians" (*SEG* XXXIII 147, line 58), which suggested to Georges Daux (1983, pp. 158–159) a connection between the Boiotian *polis* and Thorikos (cf. Lupu 2005, p. 14). Nikolaos Papazarkadas (2011, p. 26 n. 50) has wondered if this association and the Athenian cult of Athena Itonia might have been parts of the same nexus.

The plentiful epigraphic evidence of the Itonian festival on Amorgos (see below, Chapter Four) dates from the third century BC and later, but the cult is evident at Athens at least as early as the middle of the fifth century. Nevertheless, as will be suggested in Chapter Four, it is not impossible that there was an earlier history of the Itonian cult on Amorgos that has not appeared in the extant epigraphical record, though it is most unlikely that the cult originated on that island.

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The choice of Thessaly as the source of the cult of Athena Itonia at Athens is based on evidence that is circumstantial but not without weight. Ludwig Preller, Carl Robert, and other proponents of this view offered little detail about the time and occasion of the proposed transmission of the cult, but their hypothesis was grounded at least on what was well known to them, namely, the antiquity and preeminence of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, and the unique number of entities there that had names cognate with her byname, Itonia.[64] These scholars were also aware of the ancient literary testimony to the recurrent diplomatic and military relations of Athens and Thessaly in the Archaic and Classical periods. Nevertheless, because the hypothesis of a Thessalian source of the Itonian cult at Athens has not been successfully countered or much elaborated, and because our knowledge of the cult in both regions has grown since the late-19th century with considerable archaeological discovery and cogent scholarship, it is worthwhile now to synthesize and weigh the ancient evidence and modern scholarly argument for Thessaly as the source of the cult, and to try to find plausible answers to the less tractable questions of a time and a set of circumstances for its propagation to Athens. While the fragmentary evidence of this Athenian cult does not include the kind of specific reasons, historical or mythic, for its adoption that we have for a number of other cults imported to Athens,[65] the reasons for the propagation there of the worship of Athena Itonia very likely lie in the religious influence that prevailed at some point in the shared diplomatic and military history of Athenians and Thessalians.[66]

In a rare and brief comment about the origin of the Itonian cult at Athens, Robert Parker pointed in the direction of interstate religious relations, referring to Athena Itonia as one of the "un-Attic gods … of Thessaly (or Boeotia)" and asking rhetorically whether her Athenian shrine was one of the "faint traces of vanished archaic amphictyonies to which Athens had once belonged?"[67]

64 Preller and Robert 1894, vol. 1, p. 86 n. 1, p. 121 n. 3, p. 214 n. 3; see also Farnell [1896–1909] 1977, vol. 1, p. 301. For the unique number of cognate Itonian term in Thessaly, see above, Chapter One, p. 10.

65 On Athenian cultic imports, see Garland 1992.

66 Barbara Kowalzig (2007, p. 362 n. 72) cited Athens as a place where the Itonian cult was "allegedly" brought by Thessalian settlers who thus stated "their successful establishment in a new place." While not being specific about an occasion for this Thessalian establishment in Athens, Kowalzig likened it to Thessaly's founding of the cult in Boiotia by conquest. Because of its agricultural self-sufficiency Thessaly was not much given to emigration, and there is no evidence that Thessalian immigration or conquest accounts for the transmission of the Itonian cult to Athens.

67 Parker 1996, p. 28 and n. 64.

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Without contradicting Parker, I would propose a more detailed context for the propagation of this cult, which may well have accompanied a religious union of Athenians and Thessalians in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, namely, the political and military alliances of the two peoples, and, more particularly, those occasions when Thessalian cavalry manifestly or plausibly came south to the aid of Athens. Underlying this proposition is the evidence laid out above in Chapter One, that Athena Itonia, as the principal military goddess of the Thessalians, had a special relationship with their famed cavalry.

The approximate dating of the inscribed horos of Athena Itonia ([Ἀθ]εναίας / [Ἰτ]ονείας) to the second quarter of the fifth century BC[68] establishes a rough *terminus ante quem* for the appearance of the Itonian cult at Athens. This rules out Athens' use of allies from various Thessalian cities during the initial invasion of the Archidamian War in 431 BC (Thuc. 2.22) as the occasion for the cult's adoption. An earlier alliance that Athens formed with Thessaly after Kimon's dismissal from the Spartan siege of Ithome and his ostracism in 462/1[69] was contemporary with the broad dating of the horos, as was Meno of Pharsalos' contribution of money and mounted *penestai* to Kimon's siege of Eion ca. 477–475 BC and Meno's grant of Athenian citizenship.[70] But even if these ententes survived the Thessalian treachery some years later at the Battle of Tanagra (457 BC),[71] and in the unlikely event that the Thessalians again sided with Athens months later at the Battle of Oinophyta,[72] the political instability of Thessaly and its irregular diplomatic relations with Athens make the second quarter of the fifth century an unlikely time for the Athenian adoption of

68 For this horos, see above, pp. 167–168 and footnotes 3–4.

69 Thuc. 1.102; *CAH*^{2}, V, pp. 68–69 (P.J. Rhodes), 110–112 (D.M. Lewis). The Athenians probably saw this particular alliance as putting a hostile Boiotia in a vulnerable position between their own hoplites and the Thessalian cavalry, but the entente may have had favor also on the Thessalian side from King Orestes of the Aleuad dynasty who was soon to be banished by his countrymen; see Jeffery 1965, p. 52 and n. 49.

70 For Meno at Eion, see Dem. 23.199; [Dem.] 13.23; see also Helly 1995, pp. 185, 303–306. Meno's aid may have been related to Kimon's Thessalian proxeny (attested by a scholion to Aristides [Dindorf 1829, vol. III, p. 515] but disclaimed by an anonymous source of Plut. *Cim.* 14.4, the latter rejected by Meyer [(1892–1899) 1962, vol. 2, p. 49 n. 1] as late rhetoric). Cf. Kimon's imitation of Peisistratos in naming a son Thessalos (Plut. *Alc.* 19.2); Raubitschek 1955a, n. 13. On the chronology of Kimon's banishment and recall, see Raubitschek 1955b. On the relations of the Menos of Pharsalos and Athens, see Larsen 1968, p. 22.

71 Thuc. 1.107; Diod. Sic. 11.80.3–6; Paus. 1.29.9. For historical inscriptions related to the Battle of Tanagra, see Osborne and Rhodes, *GHI*, nos. 111, 112, and 117.

72 See Sanchez 2001, pp. 106–109; Sprawski 1999, p. 25; Hornblower 1992, pp. 178–181; Hornblower, *CT*, 1.108.3; Herman 1990. p. 95.

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the Thessalian cult.[73] Moreover, the fact that this unsteady relationship did no harm to the status of the Itonian cult evident in its fifth-century epigraphical testimonia suggests that the cult was by then firmly embedded in Athenian religion and perhaps no longer associated with its Thessalian origins or, at least, any degraded relations with the Thessalians. Such dissociation of the adoption of the cult of Athena Itonia from the first six decades of the fifth century seems especially plausible in the fact that we have no evidence of a presence of Thessalian troops in Attica itself between the end of the Peisistratid tyranny in 510/9 BC and the first year of the Peloponnesian War. It follows then to look to the sixth century for Athenian-Thessalian relations that might plausibly account for the transmission to Athens of the Itonian cult.

We turn again to the horos of Athena Itonia and note that it does not necessarily date the foundation of the Itonian *temenos* at Athens, since the inscribed stele may have been part of a restoration after the Persian destruction of 479 BC.[74] If the sanctuary existed as early as 480, it likely suffered wreckage when, as Herodotus tells us, the Persian general Mardonios "withdrew after burning Athens, and, if there were any standing walls or buildings or shrines, he knocked them all down and utterly scattered them."[75] Given the possibility, then, that the sanctuary of Athena Itonia antedated the fifth century, we return briefly to the question raised earlier about the chronology of the Itonian Gate. If the gates of the Themistoklean city wall did not long go nameless, and thus

73 On Thessalian instability in this period see above, Chapter One, pp. 49–50. Thessalian expulsion of Orestes, the son of Echekratidas, at Pharsalos in 454/3, and the failure of Athenians under Myronides to restore Orestes may be other symptoms of unstable Athenian-Thessalian relations (Thuc. 1.111; Diod. Sic. 11.83.3–4); see Larsen 1968, p. 243 and n. 54; Hornblower 2002, p. 97; Helly 1995, p. 106; Herman 1990, pp. 95, 97; Gehrke 1985, pp. 186–188; Jeffery 1965, p. 52 and n. 49; *CAH*^{2} V, p. 119 (D.M. Lewis); Stamatopoulou 2007, pp. 337–339.

74 New horoi could be set when a sanctuary was modified for any reason. E.g., at an intersection of roads southwest of the Athenian Agora an early Archaic hero shrine of the seventh century BC received at least one horos (Agora I 7012; *Agora* XIX, p. 23, H8; *IG* I^3 1075, preserved in situ; cuttings in the bedrock are possible the beddings for two more stelai) when it was elaborated with a triangular enclosure wall about the third quarter of the fifth century BC (Lalonde 1968, pp. 123–133). See also Ohly 1965, cols. 327–332, for the expansion of the Tritopatreion in the Kerameikos with horoi dated to 445–410 BC (*IG* I^3 1066 *A-C*) added to the Archaic sanctuary and its horos of ca. 500–480 BC (*IG* I^3 1067). Since the Athenian statesman and general Kimon had close relations with Thessaly (see above, p. 49 and footnote 159), I wonder if in the years before his ostracism a renewal of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, including the horos stele, was one of the generous public works for which he was noted; see Plut. *Cim.*, 13.7–8, for his public philanthropy, to which Robert Connor (1963, pp. 112–113) attributed the ulterior motivation of political demagogy.

75 Hdt., 9.13.2: : ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἔι κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας.

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the Itonian Gate acquired its name not long after 478 BC, it is possible that the cult and shrine of Athena Itonia were well established and prominent at that time or long before. This possibility raises again the question of whether an Archaic city wall gate might have passed on the Itonian name to the corresponding gate in the Themistoklean circuit. Here also there is no confident answer, as no archaeological remains of an Archaic city wall have been discovered, and its existence is posited mainly from literary evidence.[76] Since we lack any physical remains in situ of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, and there is still at least a modicum of equivocation about the location of the Itonian Gate in the southern sector of the Themistoklean wall, we have only approximated earlier the spatial and temporal relations of the sanctuary to the wall and the gate.[77] These approximations will be, nevertheless, important complements to other fragments of evidence in a tentative case for the chronology and circumstances of the Athenian adoption of the cult of Athena Itonia. If we accept hypothetically that this adoption may be associated with an early deployment there of the Thessalian cavalry, then this would likely have occurred before Athens had cavalry of its own, that is, before the early-fifth century,[78] and when

76 For a recent resumé of the subjects of the Acropolis walls and an Archaic city wall, see Theocharaki 2015, pp. 17–37 and figs. 1–5; Theocharaki 2011, pp. 73–76. Though we lack physical traces of a pre-Themistoklean city wall, other evidence has been adduced for its being built around the time of the reorganization of the Panathenaia (Vanderpool 1974) in 566/565 BC or early in the tyranny of Peisistratos (Weir 1995). Regarding early Athenian fortification walls, legend had it that Kodros was killed outside the city near a gate (Lycurg. *Leoc.* 86; *Anecd. Bekk.* I, 192, 32), and Pausanias notes that the place where the Peloponnesians killed Kodros was pointed out among the monuments of the Ilissos area. This evidence has led some scholars to imagine the tomb and shrine of Kodros as outside the Themistoklean Wall (e.g., Wycherley 1960, pp. 60–66, and Hooker 1960, pp. 115–116), but Travlos countered (*Athens*, p. 332) that the testimony of an inscribed epigram of the Augustan era (*IG* II^2 4258), that Kodros was buried at the foot of the Acropolis (ὑπ' ἀκροπόληι), and the proposed association of the shrine of Kodros with the in-situ horos of the mid-fifth century BC (*IG* I^3 1076: hόρος τô hιερô) inside the Themistoklean circuit (see above, p. 177 and footnote 44) indicate that the references of Lykourgos and the *Anecdota*—if we can put any topographical stock in legends of Athenian kings—must descend from an old tradition of a pre-Themistoklean wall closer to the Acropolis. Cf. John Papadopoulos's (2008) argument of the thesis that there was no Archaic, pre-Persian city wall, and that the literary passages in question refer to the fortification walls of the Acropolis and the Pelargikon.

77 See above, pp. 171–182 and footnotes 23–60.

78 Larsen 1968, pp. 106–108. For the general agreement that there were Athenian *hippeis* in the Archaic period but no certain cavalry before the first half of the fifth century BC, see Spence 1993, pp. 9, 12; Bugh 1988, pp. 3–39; Anderson 1961, p. 130 and n. 9; Helbig (1902, pp. 70–93). Bugh (1988, p. 35) has asserted that elite citizens (*hippotrophoi*) of the last half of the sixth century would not have served as mounted troops under the Peisistratids.

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Athens relied, at least occasionally, on mercenaries and allies in lieu of a force of local hoplites, that is, during the Peisistratid tyranny.

Although there is a dearth of firm information about Athens in the half century before Kleisthenes and particularly the early years of the Peisistratid regime, an extensive examination of the accounts of Herodotus, Thucydides, the *Athenaion Politeia*, and later sources allow us to draw some plausible inferences about this period with regard to the cult of Athena Itonia.[79] Herodotus (5.63) details a use of Thessalian cavalry by the tyrant Hippias against a seaborne Spartan invasion of Athens at Phaleron, very probably in the summer of 511/10.[80] On that occasion the Thessalians, by federal agreement and in accord with an alliance that had been made with them, sent to Athens 1000 horsemen with Kineas of Kondaia as condottiere.[81] The advance knowledge that Herodotus says the Peisistratids had of the intended attack must have been considerable, if, as he tells it, Hippias had time to summon Kineas and his horsemen to Athens, clear the plain for cavalry maneuvers, and set the allied cavalry upon the invaders.[82] This was more plausibly a case of Herodotus' telescoping a nearly century-old episode in which the Thessalians had been in Athens for some time, probably camping near the Plain of Phaleron, preparing the battle site, and conducting exercises in anticipation of trouble from

79 On the limits of documentary evidence in Athens of the sixth century BC, see Stroud 1978; Knox 1978, pp. 43–52; Shapiro 1989, p. 1; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000b, pp. 81–93 (These pages treat also the influence and shaping that later historiography had on received views of the Athenian tyranny. The extent, however, to which such biases can be reliably deconstructed also invites a degree of skepticism.).

80 For the invasion of Phaleron as the first reaction of a Sparta disquieted by Hippias' overtures to Dareios and Persia, see H. T. Wade-Gery 1951, pp. 215–216 and n. 19 (cf. his dating of this invasion as "no later than 512"). Cf. Hdt. 5.63.1–2 for the tradition that the Spartans were motivated by the promptings of the Delphic oracle in collusion with exiled Alkmaionids.

81 Hdt. 5.63.3: οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἐπικουρίην· ἐπεποίητο γάρ σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτούς. Θεσσαλοὶ δέ σφι δεομένοισι ἀπέπεμψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίην τε ἵππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον· On the toponym Kondaia and the emendation of Herodotus' Κονιαῖον, see *IACP*, p. 694, no. 399. The historian's phrase, κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι, is the earliest evidence that the Thessalian League had a council. Herodotus' reference to Kineas as βασιλεύς does not gainsay a federal army, for that title was a common literary designation for the supreme commander of all the Thessalians. If J.A.O. Larsen (1968 pp. 17–18), with reference to Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.8, was right that the Thessalian contingent was a major part of its available cavalry, this would affirm that the Thessalians at this time still had strong political and military unity, and that their alliance with the Athenian tyrants was already firmly based.

82 Hdt. 5.63.4: κείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἱππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ἐπῆκαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἵππον.

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Sparta.[83] As it turned out, the Spartan hoplites could not withstand the cavalry charge of Hippias' allies on the open Plain of Phaleron, as the Thessalians killed many Spartans, including their nauarch Anchimolios, and drove the survivors back to their ships.[84]

By itself, the victory at Phaleron would have been a logical occasion for Hippias to adopt the Itonian cult of his triumphant Thessalian allies, for this battle must have seemed, for the moment, like Athena's affirmation of Peisistratid rule years earlier at Pallene. The glory, however, was short-lived. The following summer, another Spartan invasion, this time by land and under the command of King Kleomenes I, routed the Thessalians and forced Hippias into exile.[85] Before yielding control of Athens, Kleomenes installed the pro-Spartan Isagoras (508/7 BC), who was soon ousted in favor of the Alkmaionid Kleisthenes and his democratic reforms.[86] The subsequent backlash against the tyranny, involving the return of Alkmaionid exiles, the execution, banishment or disfranchisement of some of Hippias' supporters,[87] the desecration

83 The battlefield in the Plain of Phaleron that was cleared in anticipation of the Spartan invasion may also have served beforehand as ground for the necessary exercise and practice of the Thessalians and their horses. The clearing of the site was probably the removal of minor obstacles, as the shore of Phaleron, where the Spartans landed, must have been quite level as it is today. On the *telescopic fallacy*, which likely affected Herodotus' view of 6th-century history, see Fischer 1970, pp. 147–149. Hippias would easily have intuited that the port and beaches of Phaleron with their direct route to the focal point of the Archaic city would have been the logical place for a seaborne invasion, just as it was two decades later in his frustrated plan with the Persians after the Battle of Marathon. In the further thinking of the Spartans, the Phaleron-Athens road would offer a direct line of retreat to their ships—as proved necessary.

84 For the expedition of Anchimolios, see Worley 1994, pp. 51–53; Sidnell, 2006, pp. 42–43; Hornblower, 2013, pp. 186–189. See Rhodes 1981, pp. 237–238, for evidence that the *Ath. Pol.* (19.5) may be correct in the name Anchimolos, *contra* Herodotus' Anchimolios.

85 The Spartan hoplites of the second invasion probably were greater in number, had a better general in their king Kleomenes, and employed anti-cavalry strategy, including the choice of a battlefield that, unlike the Plain of Phaleron, was ill-suited to equestrian maneuvers; see Larsen 1960a, p. 236; Hyland 2003, p. 128; Gaebel 2002, pp. 64–65. Herodotus' phrase (5.64.1), μετὰ δὲ, to distinguish the second invasion is vague, but it would not have been before early summer of the year (510/9) after the Battle of Phaleron. Larsen (1968, p. 30) envisioned two separate Thessalian expeditions "c. 510," but both Spartan invasions in the same summer are unlikely (see Tausend 1992, pp. 184–185), and, during these threatening times for the tyranny, the Thessalian cavalry may well have been on continuous station in Athens.

86 See Tausend 1992, p. 185.

87 See Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000b, pp. 89–93, against any view, based on Hdt. 6.123, that all of Hippias' relatives were immediately and irrevocably banished.

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of Peisistratid monuments, and the subsequent heroizing of the tyrannicides would have broken accord with the Thessalians and produced a climate ill-suited to fostering a recently imported cult of Athena Itonia.[88] Nor would the subsequent history of Hippias and the Thessalians have found any favor with the new Athenian democracy. The Thessalians stayed loyal to the ex-tyrant, offering him the rule of Iolkos,[89] which he declined, probably thinking that his chances of returning to Athens lay less with the Thessalians than with the Persians, who had already extended their hegemony to Ionia, Thrace, and Macedonia. He first took refuge in Sigeion, where his half-brother Hegistratos was tyrant and by now a subject of the Persian King, and then went to the court of Dareios and, with the Aleuads of Larisa, encouraged the invasion of Greece.[90] Though Hippias' plan of his own restoration at Marathon in 490 failed, the attempt would surely have reinforced his *damnatio memoriae* in Athens. Difficulty with the Delphic Amphiktyony shows the erosion of Thessalian power in the last decade of the sixth century,[91] and during the lead-up to the Persian wars there was chronic disunity among leaders of the Thessalian cities as they gradually medized.[92] In sum, the collapse of the Peisistratid tyranny and the decades that followed gave no occasion for Athenians to adopt the Thessalian cult of Athena Itonia.

A key hint that we should look to the decades before 511 BC for the Athenian adoption of the Itonian cult is the fact that Herodotus, in writing of the Battle of Phaleron, refers to the Peisistratid alliance with Thessaly in the pluperfect tense, "for an alliance had been made with them [the Thessalians]."[93] The statement gives no indication of a particular time or Peisistratid agent of this

88 Even if the Itonian cult still had some association with the Peisistratids in 510, the fact that Kleisthenes did not reform the traditional cults (Kearns 1985; Whitehead 1986, pp. 176–222; Lalonde 2006, p. 95 and n. 1; cf. Lewis 1963, p. 37) and the general *deisidaimonia* that encouraged the preservation of traditional cults would have allowed the worship of Athena Itonia to survive the backlash (for which see Andoc. 1.106; *Ath. Pol.* 13.5). Thucydides notes (6.54.6–7) that the people effaced the inscription on the Altar of the Twelve Gods, which the younger Peisistratos had dedicated in the Agora. On the heroization of the tyrannicides in the fifth century, see Taylor 1991.

89 Hdt. 5.94.1.

90 Hdt. 5.96; 7.6; 7.130.3; Thuc. 6.59. See Seltman 1955, p. 89, for the possible relation of Aleuad medizing and the Persian standard in the earliest coinage of Larisa.

91 See Sordi 1958, p. 56.

92 The brief coalition of Thessalian nobles and Athenian forces to make a stand against Xerxes at the Vale of Tempe could not be called an alliance or have been the occasion for the propagation of the Itonian cult from Thessaly to Athens, for the plan and the loyalty of the Thessalians collapsed with news that the followers of the Aleuadai were allied with the Persians; see Hdt. 7.172–174; Larsen 1968, pp. 23–24; Sealey 1976, pp. 207–208.

93 Hdt. 5.63.3: ἐπεποίητο γάρ σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτούς.

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alliance, probably because such detail had been lost to late fifth-century historiography. To get at least a tentative idea of the earlier Thessalian influence on the tyranny we need to make a detailed examination of the evidence in reverse chronological order back to the regime of Peisistratos himself. The passage of the cult of Athena Itonia to Athens likely occurred when settled conditions and the passage of time gave the cult a sanctity that was durable enough to survive the degradation and fall of the tyranny. A key event in the degrading of the tyranny was the assassination of Hipparchos in 514. While Thucydides notes that the dictatorship of Hippias became more oppressive after the death of Hipparchos,[94] he explains Hippias' ability to calmly handle the immediate crisis with the chronologically imprecise remark that the tyrant had for some time cultivated a fearful citizenry and a strictly loyal corps of allies or mercenaries.[95] It is evident from Thucydides' details of the assassination that a general disarmament of Athenian citizens had been in effect up to that time, whether or not the regime had yet been very oppressive.[96] Despite the later discontinuity and sometimes anti-Peisistratid bias of sources, much of what can be learned of the early tyranny supports the thinking of Walter How, Joseph Wells, and others that the Thessalian alliance that was operative at Phaleron in 511/10 BC and against Kleomenes the following year was one of

94 Thuc. 6.59.2: τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις χαλεπωτέρα μετὰ τοῦτο ἡ τυραννὶς κατέστη. Examples of Hippias' oppression and insecurity after Hipparchos' death were his executions and expulsions, his fortification of Munichia as a place of refuge for quick escape by sea (*Ath. Pol.* 19), and his establishment of potential refuges abroad (Thuc. 6.59.2–3).

95 Thuc. 6.55.3: ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πρότερον ξύνηθες τοῖς μὲν πολίταις φοβερόν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ἀκριβές. Thessalian allies may have been among Hippias' ἐπίκουροι, the bodyguards who disarmed parading citizens immediately after the assassination of Hipparchos (Thuc. 6.58.1–2). See Brian Lavelle's (1992, pp. 80–82) argument that *epikouroi* originally meant "allies," that it can be ambiguous, meaning either "allies" or "mercenaries," but that Herodotus usually refers to mercenaries as *misthôtoi* (e.g. the Argives at Hdt. 1.61.4); cf. Singor 2000, pp. 113–114. That Thessalian horsemen were a popular subject of Athenian vase painting in the last quarter of the sixth century shows that they were by then a familiar sight in Athens; see Greenhalgh 1973, p. 149; Helbig 1902, pp. 63–69 and figs. 25, 26.

96 Although Thucydides in his *Archaeology* (1.5–6) observes that going armed in public is what distinguishes primitive peoples from civilized societies, an enforced disarmament before 514 seems implicit in his statements (6.56) that the Panathenaic procession was the only occasion when citizens could gather in arms without arousing suspicion, and that Harmodios and Aristogeiton chose this day in hopes that the armed citizens would rise and follow their lead. Cf. the contradiction by *Ath. Pol.* 18.4, that carrying arms in the Panathenaic procession was an innovation of later democracy; on this point, see Rhodes 1981, p. 210. Perhaps further indicative of a disarmament before 514 is Thucydides' observation (6.58.2) that Hippias suspected that all who had concealed daggers at the time were conspirators. Cf. Larsen 1968, p. 112 and n. 3, for the opinion that a general disarmament after the assassination was the initial one.

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the many that Peisistratos himself had made with foreign tyrants, monarchs, and oligarchs, a practice common among Greek elites in the Archaic period.[97] Klaus Tausend recently expanded on this hypothesis, noting that Hippias' sole reliance on the Thessalian cavalry in the Battle of Phaleron shows that he did not depart from the policy of his father and introduce again a citizen army.[98]

Both general and specific evidence and argument point to the early years of the Peisistratid tyrants as the likely climate for their alliance with Thessaly and their adoption of the cult of Athena Itonia. In the second half of the sixth century the Thessalian government was at its zenith as a strong federation of local nobles who, though not styled as "tyrants," were loyal to a central assembly and single monarch elected for life, the kind of rule with which the Peisistratids identified, from which they drew support, and which they fostered in other places.[99] An Athenian-Thessalian alliance at this time not only paired political ideologies but also gave strategic military advantages to both parties, to the Peisistratids a powerful cavalry that could be called on to support their internal military and political agenda, and to the Thessalians a strong ally south of Boiotia and a buffer against the potential force of Sparta.[100] It is also likely that Athenian reliance on Thessalian support and its receptiveness to Thessalian religious cult prevailed in that extended period of years before the killing of Hipparchos when, as historical and literary sources aver, the Peisistratids, and especially Peisistratos himself, governed the city peacefully and beneficently in accord with piety, intelligence, and the traditional laws, though they kept the rule in the family.[101] Religious relations would certainly have been a factor

97 How and Wells [1912] 1980, comment on Hdt. 5.63.3, and their Appendix XVI.8; see also *CAH*^{2} III 3, pp. 298 (and n. 23), 317 (W.G.G. Forrest), for the suggested dating of the alliance with Thessaly to the reign of Peisistratos; see also Hornblower 2013, p. 188; Larsen 1968, p. 15 and n. 2; Sordi 1958, p. 55.

98 Tausend 1992. p. 183. The tyranny's prosperous economy and taxation may have afforded a permanent mercenary force, though Frank Frost (1984, pp. 291–292) argued that the cost may have led Hippias to recruit a hoplite force of sympathetic Athenians.

99 See above, Chapter One, pp. 42–50, on the zenith of Thessalian federal strength in the second half of the sixth century BC.

100 See Larsen 1968, pp. 14–16, 108–112.

101 Thuc. 6.54.5–6: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐπαχθὴς ἦν ἐς τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιφθόνως κατεστήσατο· καὶ ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν … τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις τοῖς πρὶν κειμένοις νόμοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αἰεί τινα ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι. See also Pl. [*Hipp.*] 228b–229b and *Ath. Pol.* 16.2–8 for a litany of the virtues of Peisistratid rule until Hipparchos' death and the conclusion that this was the Golden Age of Kronos. Alan Shapiro (1989, pp. 2–5) included in this age "the eighteen or so years of Peisistratos' third tyranny," and it may have extended into the earlier years of Hippias' regime. Whether the tyranny became oppressive before the assassination in 514 is unclear for want of precise chronological testimony and because pro-Alkmaionid

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in Athenian receptivity to Thessalian cult. In the latter half of the sixth century the Thessalian League had strong leadership in the Delphic Amphiktyony, and the Athenians were fellow members through their *ethnos*.[102] Since Athena Itonia's role in Thessalian religion was chiefly military, Peisistratid acceptance of her cult would have been consonant with the tyranny's early introduction of new cults and expansion of old ones and its program of keeping and advancing political power through religion and its symbolism, especially the concept and image of martial Athena as Polias and Nike.[103] Though the great reorganization of the Panathenaia took place about two decades before Peisistratos' secure rule,[104] evidence of the prize amphoras shows that the tyrants celebrated the festival with new grandeur.[105] The key role of Athena in the mythic Gigantomachy continued to be a favored subject of painted vases and other votive objects during the decades of Peisistratid rule.[106] Hippias made another major political statement with the image of the military goddess when ca. 525 BC he shifted from the heraldic coinage (*Wappenmünzen*)

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sources tended to project the evils of Hippias back to Peisistratos himself; see, e.g., Isoc. 12.148–149; 16.25–26; *IG* I^2 761; Andrewes 1956, pp. 100–115; While Thucydides (1.20; 6.54–59) corrects some of the anti-Peisistratid anachronism, he also observes (6.53.3) it in the Athenians at the time of the Peloponnesian War: ἐπιστάμενος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἀκοῇ τὴν Πεισιστράτου καὶ τῶν παίδων τυραννίδα χαλεπὴν τελευτῶσαν γενομένην. See also the caveat of T.L. Shear Jr. (1978, esp. pp. 2, 11) against accepting exaggeration and caricature of Archaic tyrants and particularly the Peisistratids.

102 Cf. above p. 184 and footnote 67 for the speculation of Parker that the Itonian cult may have come to Athens by an amphiktyonic relationship. On the amphiktyonies at Anthela and Delphi in the Archaic period and the important role of Thessaly, see Tausend 1992, pp. 34–47; Helly 1995, pp. 131–142, 167–169, 187; Jacquemin 1999, p. 51; Lefevre 1998, pp. 14, 84–86; Sanchez 2001, pp. 32–57, 80; Hall 2002, pp. 1456–153.

103 For the growth of Athenian cults under the tyrants, see Shapiro 1989, pp. 12–15; pp. 37–38 (Athena as warrior goddess), and General Index, s.v. Athena Polias. On the Archaic shrine of Athena Nike on the Acropolis and its association with Peisistratos, see Shapiro 1989, p. 24. Peisistratos' invocation of the military patronage of Athena was early and boldly expressed in his being led to Athens from his first exile by the young woman Phye in the trappings of Athena (Herodotus 1.60).

104 For the institution of the penteteric Great Panathenaia in 566/5 BC, see J.L. Shear 2001, pp. 507–515, 671–679. Cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000b, p. 80 and n. 4, on the view of Peisistratid reorganization of the Panathenaia.

105 For the Panathenaia under the Peisistratids, see J.L. Shear 2001, pp. 521–528, 679–681.

106 See J.L. Shear 2001, p. 36. Some scholars (e.g., Boersma 2000, p. 52) have attributed the marble Gigantomachy of the old temple of Athena Polias to Peisistratos' sons, but it is certainly a project of the new democracy dating from ca. 510 BC; see J.L. Shear 2001, pp. 36–37, 683–686 with further references in n. 76.

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of his father to the longstanding issue of Athens, the silver tetradrachm with helmeted Athena as the obverse type and the owl as the reverse image.[107]

A further example of the relationship of Peisistratids and Thessalians that would have been in harmony with their political and military alliance and the transmission southward of the cult of Athena Itonia is their closely shared cultivation of the arts in association with religious cult.[108] A Peisistratid edition of Homer and Hipparchos' recitals of Homeric poetry in the events of the Panathenaic festival would have had special appeal to their cultured Thessalian allies,[109] and there is testimony that in the late sixth century the poet Simonides of Keos was a client of the Peisistratid tyrants as well as the Aleuad dynasts of Larisa and the Skopadai of Krannon.[110]

In addition to the preceding general evidence for an early relationship of the tyrants with Thessaly as a plausible context for the transmission of the cult of Athena Itonia, some more specific circumstances argue to the same end. Just as Herodotus notes that Kineas and his Thessalian cavalry came to support Hippias in 511/10 in accord with an earlier alliance, so Thucydides (2.22.2–3), in observing that Thessalian military units were in Athens during the Archidamian War κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικόν, was probably following his common use of παλαιὸν to denote matters of uncertain antiquity, and therefore

107 See, e.g., Fig. **32**, a silver tetradrachm of 455–449 BC. Though the martial Athena of these coins would have symbolized primarily the tutelary Polias, it is likely that the image of the helmeted goddess would have conjured thoughts of all the martial Athenas of Athens, including Itonia, once her cult was instituted. Hippias' heavy silver coins were produced primarily for use abroad, and thus the image of martial Athena advertised the power of the Athenian tyrants to the wider Greek world. For the chronology and transition in Athenian coinage under the Peisistratids, see Kroll 1981, pp. 1–32; van der Vin 2000, p. 150.

108 For the cultural program of the Peisistratids as it related to politics and religion, including the martial cults of Athena, see Podlecki 1980; Shapiro 1989; Blok 2000; Slings 2000. Cf. the warning of Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2000b, pp. 81–86) against exaggerating the cultural and political role of the Peisistratids or automatically attributing to them any cultural or political action dating from their tenure.

109 On a Peisistratid recension of Homer, see Slings (2000, pp. 74–76), who thought it a fiction that grew out of the Homeric recitations of Hipparchos referred to in Pseudo-Plato (228b–229b [*Hipparch.*]). See J.L. Shear 2001, p. 524, for Hipparchos' reforms of the rhapsodic contests and for testimony of the recitation of songs of Homer in Athens as early as the times of Solon or Peisistratos. For the sharing by Greek elites of the patronage of the arts and participation in Panhellenic festivals and their contests, see Stamatopoulou 2007, esp. p. 318.

110 Simonides is said to have been at the Peisistratid court before 514 BC (Pl. [*Hipparch.*] 228c; *Ath. Pol.* 18.1) and may have left with the expulsion of Hippias; see Slings 2000, p. 63. For Simonides among the Thessalian dynasts, see Theoc. 16.34–47; *OCD*[4] p. 1369, s.v. Simonides (P. J. Parsons); Slings, *loc. cit.*

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not referring to the alliances of 462/61 or that operative in 511/10, both occasions familiar to him, but to an earlier alliance of uncertain date.[111] After Peisistratos initially failed to secure his tyranny with Athenian *korunêphoroi*, he had particular opportunity to establish a network of aristocratic allies, including the Thessalian oligarchs, during the early and lengthy period of his exiles, including his sojourn to the north of Greece.[112] Peisistratos' naming a son Thessalos is seen as evidence of an early and close relationship with Thessaly.[113]

111 See, e.g., Thuc. 1.3, 20, 24, 73, 101; 2.15; see Bétant 1847, pp. 268–268, s.v. παλαιός. Cf. Pausanias' variant wording (1.29.6), κατὰ παλαιὰν φιλίαν which is synonymous rather than corrective. Use of such a phrase for an alliance of known date would be confusing or ambiguous, but τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικόν would have been an understandable way of referring to the regular tradition of Athenian alliance with Thessaly, even if broken at times, going back to an initial date no longer known. Sordi (1958, pp. 112–114) and Larsen (1960, p. 243) thought Thucydides referred to the alliance of 462/1 BC, though Sordi allowed that the intervening three decades involved repeated breaches and renewals of the alliance; see also Hornblower, *CT*, 2.22.3; Cartwright 1997, p. 104. Cf. Gomme, *HCT*, 2.22.3, for the implication that the alliance with Thessaly was not continuous between the Battle of Tanagra and 431 BC, because the Thessalians are not listed among the Athenian allies at the outset of the war (Thuc. 2.9.4).

112 The only significant notices of Peisistratos' time in the north are the comments of Hdt. 1.64.1 and *Ath. Pol.* 15.2 that he collected mercenaries and revenue from the Thracian region of the Strymon River and Mt. Pangaion, but during exiles that totaled as many as fifteen years he would likely have spent time with rulers of like political mind in Thessaly. On Peisistratos' early exiles and tyrannies, see *RE* 19.1, 1937, cols. 150–155; s.v. Peisistratiden, and cols. 188–196, s.v. Peisistratos 3) (F. Schachermeyr); Jacoby [1949] 1973, pp. 152–168; Andrewes 1956, pp. 100–115; *CAH*^{2} III 3, pp. 399–402 (A. Andrewes); Davies, *APF*, pp. 444–445; Rhodes 1976, pp. 219–233; 1981, pp. 191–199; Singor 2000, pp. 110–111.

113 Thuc, 1.20; 6.55.1. See Sordi 1958, p. 55; Larsen 1968, pp. 30–31. The Attic spelling Thettalos is here normalized to the Ionic Thessalos. For Peisistratos' son of this name, see *RE* XI, 1936, cols. 164–165, s.v. Thettalos 3) (F. Schachermeyr); see *PA* 7207 for testimonia and bibliography; see also *APF*, p. 307; *LGPN*, vol. II, s.v. Θεσσαλός. On giving ethnic names to persons, a Greek tradition for marking a particular relationship, such as *proxenia, xenia*, or *philia*, between an individual or family and a foreign state, see P.M. Fraser 2000, especially pp. 153–157. For Athenian use of foreign names in general, see Habicht 2000, especially p. 120. For the various relationships and activities that linked leading Thessalian families with other elites of Archaic Greece, see Herman 1987, pp. 16–22, 45–47, 150–151, 156–160; Mitchell 1997, pp. 1–72; Stamatopoulou 2007, esp. p. 318. The naming of Thessalos would have been especially complimentary to Peisistratos' allies in calling to mind the eponymous hero of the Thessalian *ethnos*. Even Peisistratos' naming of Hippias and Hipparchos would have appealed to the Thessalian aristocrats with their rich history of horsemanship (Arist. *Pol.* 1289b, 33–40; 1321a, 5–13; Xen. *Ages.* 9.6; Isoc. 6.55; 16.33–34; Pl. *Meno*, 70a–b. cf. Ar. *Nub.* 63–70); note the remark of Glenn Bugh (1988, pp. 6–7): "[Peisistratos] clearly had a penchant for 'horsey' names, witness his sons Hippias and Hipparchos, and Thessalos, the last a reference to the land famous for its horse traditions.".

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The *Athenaion Politeia's* identification of Thessalos with Hegesistratos, a non-citizen son (νόθος) of Peisistratos and an alien mother, and, moreover, of Thessalos as a much younger and dissolute son and, instead of Hipparchos, the one whose lust for Harmodios provoked the tyrannicides makes the Aristotelian tradition inherently suspect.[114] This tradition is especially suspect in contradicting Thucydides, who, citing the Acropolis stele that condemned the tyranny, shows that Thessalos was an older and legitimate son by including him among the γνήσιοι ἀδελφοί with Hippias and Hipparchos.[115] Thessalos may be less known to us as a legitimate son simply because he was not, like Hippias and Hipparchos, a principal in the episode of tyrannicide. On that point, it is well to remember Thucydides' observation that it was only the fame

114 According to *Ath. Pol.* 17.3 and 18.2 (followed by Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 24.8), Peisistratos had two sons, Hippias and Hipparchos, by his wedded wife, and by an Argive woman two sons, Iophon and Hegesistratos, the latter having a second name, Thessalos, and being, rather than Hipparchos, the brother who fell in love with Harmodios. Herodotus (5.94.1) names Hegesistratos, but not Thessalos, as son of an unnamed Argive woman. John K. Davies (*APF* pp. 448–449) explained the conflation of Thessalos and Hegesistratos as a politically motivated but confused attempt to exonerate Hipparchos as the spiteful suitor of Harmodios in 514 by transferring that role to a younger and reckless brother (Hegisistratos / Thessalos).

115 Thuc. 6.55.1 (παῖδες γὰρ αὐτῷ μόνῳ [Hippias] φαίνονται τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν γενόμενοι…καὶ ἡ στήλη περὶ τῆς τῶν τυράννων ἀδικίας ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει σταθεῖσα, ἐν ᾗ Θεσσαλοῦ μὲν οὐδ' Ἱππάρχου οὐδεὶς παῖς γέγραπται, Ἱππίου δὲ πέντε,). See also Thuc. 1.30, where only Hipparchos and Thessalos are named as the younger brothers of Hippias. Raphael Sealey (1976, pp. 143–144) saw Thessalos as evidence of Peisistratid relations with Thessaly a generation before the Battle of Phaleron. Johannes Töpffer (1894, pp. 466–467) won little support for the compromise speculation that, after the death of Peisistratos, Hegesistratos, still a νόθος, came back to Athens from his tyranny in Sigeion and took the name Thessalos upon being legitimized as a citizen. To judge from Thucydides' account, Thessalos was, like Hippias and Hipparchos, born by the mid to late 570s to Peisistratos' Athenian wife and therefore among the sons who were young men (νεανίαι) at the time of the tyrant's marriage to the daughter of Megakles (Hdt. 1.61.1) and counselors during his last exile in Eretria (Hdt. 1.61.2–3: ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισί). Iophon and Hegesistratos, however, were probably born during the first tyranny or the first exile (i.e., before the end of the period 561/0–557). If Thessalos was born in the late 570s, this at least establishes a *terminus ad quem* for Peisistratos' ties, if not a formal alliance, with Thessaly. If Thessalos and Hippias were close contemporaries, this makes the latter's age at Marathon in 490 BC a not unbelievable eighty-plus years. Further evidence that the Aristotelian tradition is corrupt in the matter of the sons is its chronologically questionable claim (*Ath. Pol.* 17, 4) that Hegesistratos brought a thousand Argive allies to the Battle of Pallene; Ulrich Wilcken (1897, p. 480) rejected this passage as interpolation; P. J. Rhodes (1981, pp. 199, 227) viewed its claim as just possible.

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of Hipparchos' assassination that led posterity to the mistaken belief that he, rather than Hippias, was the ruling tyrant.[116]

Presence of the Thessalian cavalry in Athens early in the regime of Peisistratos would have been a very likely context for the introduction of the cult of Athena Itonia. Although Herodotus and the *Athenaion Politeia* do not name the Thessalians, they were plausibly among the many and various allies and donors of money that are said to have supported Peisistratos at the Battle of Pallene ca. 546/5 BC, and among the bodyguard and armed forces that the tyranny maintained thereafter by the five per cent tax it levied on Athenian revenues.[117] Peisistratos' employment of allies and mercenaries to secure his rule indicates that the detailed claims of the *Athenaion Politeia* (15.3–5) and Polyainos (*Strat.* 1.21.2), that Peisistratos disarmed the Athenians after Pallene, are not likely just late anti-Peisistratid doublets of disarmament under Hippias.[118] Whether Peisistratos' disarmament of the Athenians was temporary or permanent remains a subject of discussion,[119] but, in either case, the tyrants could

116 Thuc. 6.55.4: Ἱππάρχῳ δὲ ξυνέβη τοῦ πάθους τῇ δυστυχίᾳ ὀνομασθέντα καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα προσλαβεῖν. It has been suggested that "Thucydides' insistence on the constitutional primacy of Hippias may be overly-legalistic" (*OCD*[4], p. 687, s.v. Hippias (1) [R. Thomas]), but Felix Jacoby ([1949] 1973, pp. 158–164, 337 n. 43) argued cogently in defense of the versions of Herodotus and Thucydides and against the ideas of Hipparchos as tyrant (probably an intervening idea of Hellanikos born of the propagandistic notion that the assassination was literally tyrannicide) or co-tyrant (probably a later compromise); see *CAH*[2] III 3, pp. 399–401 (A. Andrewes); Rhodes 1981, pp. 225–226, especially on the meaning of νόθος; Singor 2000, pp. 13–14.

117 Hdt. 1.64.1: πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισί τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων; *Ath. Pol.* 15.2: ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πάγγαιον τόπους, ὅθεν χρηματισάμενος καὶ στρατιώτας μισθωσάμενος, ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν ἐνδεκάτῳ πάλιν ἔτει τό-<τε> πρῶτον ἀνασώσασθαι βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεχείρει, συμπροθυμουμένων αὐτῷ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, μάλιστα δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Λυγδάμιος τοῦ Ναξίου, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐχόντων ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ τὴν πολιτείαν. See *CAH*[2] III 3, pp. 402–403, 407 (A. Andrewes) on the Peisistratid tax of five per cent (Thuc. 6.54.5) and reconciling it with the tithe cited by *Ath. Pol.* 16.4. On Peisistratid taxes, see also Berve 1967, p. 52; Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 1993.

118 On disarmament during the reign of Hippias, see above, p. 191 and footnote 96.

119 A disarmament of some length after the Battle of Pallene seems implicit in Herodotus' statement (1.63–64) that the defeated Athenians obeyed Peisistratos' order to return to their homes and be of good cheer. Glenn Bugh (1988, p. 35) noted that a disarming of citizens by Peisistratos would have included both hoplites and horsemen, but that it was probably temporary; see also Holladay 1977, p. 52. Helmut Berve (1967, pp. 51–52) apparently envisioned a partial but long-term disarmament in which the Attic hoplites were replaced by a bodyguard and army that included foreign allies, mercenaries, and newly armed lower-class Athenians; this is essentially the view also of Frost (1984, pp. 291–292) and Singor (2000); see also French 1960, p. 191. On the disarmament, see Rhodes 1981,

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call upon the Thessalians at any time after the alliance was made with them. Klaus Tausend has argued that an ongoing maintenance of internal power was the motive for the tyranny's passive military foreign policy and its disarmament of the traditional Athenian hoplites, citing as evidence of this defensive policy Peisistratos' avoidance of the risk of military ventures abroad, except for the inherited war over Salamis, the installation of Lygdamis as tyrant of Naxos, and the taking of Sigeion and its assignment to Hegesistratos.[120] Another indication of the extended insecurity consistent with a disarmament after Pallene was Peisistratos' making hostages of the sons of prominent Athenian opponents and sending them to the charge of Lygdamis on Naxos.[121]

Early Peisistratid establishment of the Itonian cult at Athens would have served the general diplomatic purpose of strengthening relations with the oligarchs of Thessaly and the more specific purpose of providing Thessalian horsemen with a sanctuary of their patron goddess during their deployment in Athens. Whether the sanctuary of Athena Itonia was initially established by the Thessalian allies themselves or was actively sponsored by the tyrants as an honor and thank offering to their allies, in either case it would have had the approval of the Athenian regime.[122] For the purposes of the tyrants or their Thessalian allies the location of Athena's shrine in the Ilissos region of the city, evident from the approximate site of the Itonian Gate,[123] makes particular sense. Thucydides dwells on the importance of this region of the city southeast of the Acropolis as the focus of public life in early Athenian history, mentioning as evidence the sanctuaries of Zeus Olympios and Ge, the Pythion, and the Enneakrounos at Kallirrhoê, all monuments of the Peisistratid building program.[124] Before the democracy of Kleisthenes shifted the political focus

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p. 210, including citations of Arist. *Pol.* 1311a, 12–13, that disarming of citizens was a device of tyrannies and oligarchies, but also Arist. *Pol.* 1315a, 38, that good tyrants did not need to do this. See also Larsen 1968, p. 112 and n. 3.

120 Tausend 1992, pp. 182–183; Naxos (Hdt. 1.64.2; *Ath. Pol.* 15.3); Sigeion (Hdt. 5.94.1).

121 Hdt. 1.64.1–2; *Ath. Pol.* 15.3.

122 Cf. Shapiro 1989, p. 16, on cult in this period in general: "Peisistratos' association with these cults is not in every case explicitly stated, but it is hard to imagine that a major cult could have thrived during his rule without his tacit approval, if not active intervention."

123 See above, pp. 181–182.

124 Thuc. 2.15. For the actual or proposed locations of these monuments, see Travlos, *Athens,* fig. 379. For the building activity of the tyrants, see Boersma 2000. Although Thucydides initially refers to the Acropolis and the region south of it before the complete *synoikismos* of Attica attributed to Theseus (2.15.3: τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον), the Peisistratid monuments he mentions make it clear that the southeastern district was still the chief focus of city life in the second half

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of Athens to the Kerameikos region, and Themistokles moved the naval force to the fortified harbors of the Piraeus region, the short corridor between the old port at Phaleron and the Archaic city center was a zone of strategic military importance, both for equestrian drills and as a potential battlefield, as Hippias foresaw in 511/10 and vainly hoped for in 490 BC.[125] It is not mere coincidence that the tyrants would establish the Itoneion of their Thessalian allies in an area that was not only militarily strategic but also offered a facility most suitable for an army's encampment, the Gymnasium in Kynosarges with its shrine of Herakles.[126] In addition to the practical advantages of the Gymnasium, its

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of the sixth century. Further argument for this is implicit in the recent scholarship that locates the Archaic Agora not far from the east slope of the Acropolis, where the shrine of Aglauros has been identified by an inscription and its in-situ base: See Dontas 1983; Schnurr 1995a; 1995b; Robertson 1992, pp. 43–48 and map 3; 1998; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 281–288; Schmalz 2006. This scholarship has negated earlier opinions of an Archaic Agora southwest or west of the Acropolis (Oikonomides 1964, pp. ix–xii, 1–50; *Agora* XIV p. 19; Thompson 1952, p. 21) and redated the development of the Agora excavated northwest of the Acropolis from Solonian (*Agora* XIV, pp. 19, 25–26) or Peisistratid (Shear Jr. 1978; Camp 1986, p. 38) times to the period of the establishment of the Kleisthenic democracy (Francis and Vickers 1988; Gadberry 1992; Shear Jr. 1994; Miller 1995) and the setting of the inscribed horoi of the Agora (ca. 500–480 BC: Thompson 1968, pp. 61–64; Shear Jr. 1978; *Agora* XIX, H25, H26, H27; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 289–291). Related proposals that the Peisistratid residence was on the Acropolis have adduced no real evidence; see *CAH*^{2} III 3, p. 414 and n. 96 (A. Andrewes). The Peisistratid foundation of the cult of Athena Itonia may have been part of a larger pattern of Athenian transfer of Thessalian mythology and cult to this southeast area of Athens, including the association of the legendary Thessalians, Deukalion and Amphictyon, father of Itonos (for these mythical Thessalian dynasts, see above, Chapter One, pp. **xx**), with the cult and precinct of Olympian Zeus.

125 Cf. Hdt. 6.116, for the reason the Persians came around to Phaleron after Marathon: τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

126 For the Gymnasium with its Herakleion, see Marchiandi et al. 2011, pp. 503–509. See Bing 1976/1977, pp. 311–313, for a parallel in Peisistratos' embellishment of the Lykeion sanctuary (Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F 136; Paus. 1.19.3–4) with a gymnasium as a training station for his Argive mercenaries who were particularly devoted to the cult of Apollo Lykeios. Just as the first duty of the Athenian cavalry commander was to propitiate the gods by sacrifice on behalf of his troops (Xen. *Equ. mag.* 3.1), it is likely that the troops of Argos and Thessaly had similar rituals, which were served by the sanctuaries of their patron deities, Apollo Lykeios and Athena Itonia, in proximity to their camps in Athens. The military utility of the Gymnasium in Kynosarges is evident in the facts that the Athenians hoplites bivouacked there in 490 after their forced march from Marathon in anticipation of a Persian landing at Phaleron (Hdt. 6.116), and that in 200 BC the same gymnasium was the staging area for Philip V's siege of Athens (Diod. Sic. 28.7; Livy 31.24.17–18). The use of this area for local equestrian maneuvers apparently continued into the Classical period, as it was likely on a training session that Andokides (1.61) was injured by falling from his horse in Kynosarges; see Anderson 1961. p. 103; Spence 1993, p. 185; Papazarkadas 2011, p. 24

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Herakleion, like the shrine of Athena Itonia, would have had particular religious and political appeal to the Thessalians.[127] Another practical reason for the Thessalian encampment around the gymnasium in Kynosarges was easy access to the Ilissos River and the Enneakrounos fountain near Kallirrhoê as sources of the copious fresh water needed by the many men and horses as well as for the rituals of the Herakleion and the Itoneion.[128] Since even in its Archaic phase the gymnasium in Kynosarges was the traditional training venue for νόθοι (those not of pure Athenian blood), then its use by Thessalian cavalrymen would have been a matter not only of strategic location but also of Peisistratid diplomacy, for the encamped allies would have had their own facilities apart from those of the Athenian citizenry.[129] Also germane to this to-

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n. 38. For evidence and argument for two possible locations of the Herakleion along the left bank of the Ilissos between Agia Photini and the old Fix Brewery, see Travlos *Athens*, pp. 340–341, 579, figs. 219, 379; 1970, especially fig. 1 on p. 7, or Judeich 1931, pp. 422–424, and Wycherley 1962, pp. 13–15. The extent of the two areas suggested for the gymnasium and the Herakleion corresponds closely to the NE-SW extent of ancient district of Kynosarges.

127 The Thessalians would have had an affinity with this cult and shrine of Herakles in view of Thessaly's tradition of a mythic Aleuas, hero of the Aleuad dynasty of Larisa, as descended from Herakles through the eponymous hero Thessalos (see Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* 8.11, for a tale of the mythic Aleuas in the *Dardanika* of the fifth-century [?] poet Hegemon of Thasos; see Pherekydes, *FGrH* 3 F 78, for Thessalos as a son of Herakles). Thessalians and the Peisistratids of this period would have been aware of further links in this web of associations; e.g., Peisistratos' son named Thessalos (see above, pp. xx) and the possibility that the historical Aleuas the Red, reputed founder of the Thessalian Confederacy, flourished in the second half of sixth century and thus was a contemporary and ally of Peisistratos; see Helly 1995, introduction; *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 55 s.v. Aleuadae; p. 1467, s.v. Thessaly). For the historical Aleuas, see above, Chapter One, pp. xx. See Helly 1995, pp. 118–124, on the distinction of the historical figure from the mythical Aleuas.

128 Apropos of the importance of clean water in the area, see Thucydides' note (2.15.5–6) that still in his time the Enneakrounos, fashioned by the Peisistratids at Kallirrhoê, served the secular and ritual needs of the district. That the Ilissos continued to be a crucial source of unpolluted water for the sanctuaries and the gymnasium in Kynosarges is evident nearly a century after the Peisistratid tyranny from the inscribed stele of an Athenian decree, *IG* I[3] 257 (ca. 440–430 BC), found *ex situ* just south of the choregic monument of Lysikrates. This text mandates the erection on both sides of the Ilissos of inscribed copies of the decree, including its stipulation that tanners are not to soak their hides or throw refuse into the river upstream of the Herakleion. Not irrelevant to this point is the observation of R.E. Wycherley (1962, p. 14) that the three old Athenian gymnasia were distributed around the periphery of the city, each in association with one of the local rivers.

129 Dem. 23.213; Ath. 6.234e; Plut. *Mor.* 750 F; And. 1.61; Hdt. 5.63; 6.116; Paus. 1.19.3; Judeich 1931, p. 423: "Das Gymnasion für die Halbbürger." See also Humphreys 1974, pp. 90–91. Probably another symptom of the democratic bent of Themistokles was his effort to raise the social level of the Kynosarges gymnasium by persuading the well-born to frequent it (Plut. *Them.* 1.2).

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pography is the detail of Herodotus that the tomb of Anchimolios, the Spartan commander killed in the Battle of Phaleron in 511/10 BC, was in Alopeke in Attica, near the Herakleion in Kynosarges.[130] It is not easy in this regard to reconcile the toponyms Alopeke and Kynosarges, because our knowledge of the location and boundaries of the demes in the region is not exact.[131] If the tomb was near the gymnasium and Herakleion in Kynosarges, it may have been located to celebrate the victorious Thessalians who were camped there.[132] If, however, the tomb was located in the currently favored region of the deme Alopeke, farther down the Plain of Phaleron, then the site may have been chosen for its proximity to the field of battle.[133] In conclusion, this whole web of topographical associations in southeast Athens in the late Archaic period points to the cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia as the focus of a religious, political, and military relationship of the Peisistratids and the Thessalians that is explicit at the end of the tyranny under Hippias, but in all likelihood went back to the regime of Peisistratos himself.

5 Summary

This chapter has brought together a wide range of literary, epigraphical, topographical, and archaeological evidence regarding the cult and shrine of Athena Itonia at Athens. The relevant inscribed texts are few and brief, but they yield clear information about the cult and its sanctuary in the Classical period. The

130 Hdt. 5.63. See Pritchett 1971–1991, IV, pp. 163–164, for the occasional Athenian practice of granting burial to defeated enemies; note especially the prominent burial outside the Dipylon Gate of the Lakedaimonian polemarchs killed in Piraeus in 403 BC while fighting against Thrasyboulos and the returning Athenian democrats (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33; for the excavated remains of the tomb, see Knigge 1991, pp. 160–161 and fig. 156).

131 The Herakleion in Kynosarges is more closely associated with the deme Diomeia; see Traill 1975, p. 39, Topographical Table II, s.v. Diomeia, with references to Steph. Byz. s.v. Κυνόσαργες; Traill 1986, p. 139; Travlos 1970, pp. 6–13; for the supposed gate south of the Olympieion, called by Travlos (*Athens*, pp. 160, 168–169, fig. 219, X) the Diomeian Gate, see above, p. 177, and footnote 42. The deme Alopeke is generally located farther south around modern Katsipodi; see Traill 1975, p. 53, Topographical Table X, s.v. Alopeke; 1986, p. 139; Hornblower 2013, p. 189; cf. Dörpfeld 1895, p. 507. Aeschines (1.99) tells of an estate in Alopeke that is eleven or twelve stades (ca. 1 km) from the city wall, but Alopeke may have extended up to the area of Kynosarges and Diomeia.

132 Anchimolios' tomb may have been among many in the Archaic cemetery near the gymnasium; see Travlos, *Athens*, p. 340.

133 P. J. Bicknell (1970, p. 131) suggested that the burial of Anchimolios was an honor bestowed by un-exiled Alkmaionids, since this clan was associated with Alopeke and hostile to the Peisistratids; see also Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000b, p. 90 n. 27.

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literary testimonia of Pseudo-Plato, Plutarch, and Pausanias are also slight, but in combination with the physical evidence of the city wall and gates they allow us to approximate the location of the Itonian *temenos* southeast of the *asty*, in the neighborhood of Kynosarges. Evidence of the sixth century is typically more circumstantial, and therefore the major inference drawn from it, that the cult and shrine of Athena Itonia were founded at Athens in association with deployment there of the Thessalian allies of the Peisistratids in the early years of their tyranny, is logically more speculative.

The history of the character of Athena Itonia in her Athenian cult is also not clear throughout. To the extent that we can trust the hypothesis of the cult's Thessalian origin, we can believe that this Athena was, at least in her early decades at Athens, a goddess of equestrian warfare. As we would expect of the kinds of brief epigraphical references to Athena Itonia in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, there was no reason there to allude to her attributes, but we cannot assume that her martial nature disappeared when Thessalian horsemen were gone from Athens. Since the cult endured as a lively part of Athenian religion, it may have retained a martial character, perhaps even with hippic attributes,[134] either by association with other military cults of Athena in Athens or in the minds of those educated Athenians for whom the byname Itonia would have brought to mind the Thessalian goddess and the many cognate *Iton*—entities still preeminent in Thessaly.[135]

We conclude with brief attention to another sphere of less than complete knowledge about the Itonian cult in Athens, namely, chronology. We can accept, at least *ex hypothesi*, that Thessalians brought Athena Itonia to Athens in the third quarter of the sixth century BC during their service to Peisistratos. The epigraphic evidence shows that she was still notable among the other gods of Athens through the fifth century and survived well enough in the fourth century that her *temenos* was a thriving part of the religious revival of Lykourgos. For

134 As in many places, the martial Athena of Athens had equestrian associations. Kimon (Plut. *Cim.* 5.2–3), as a cavalryman, is said to have dedicated his bridle to Athena. Aelius Aristides (43) conveys the myth that Athena gave the Athenians war-horses and taught Erichthonios everything of horsemanship. In the deme Kolonos was an altar Athena Hippia (Paus. 1.30.4); see Euripides, *Tr.* 536, for Athena with the epithet *ambrotopolos*, "of the immortal steeds." On Athena of Athens and horsemanship, see Bugh 1988, pp. 7, 28, 81 n. 5.

135 Since the cult and sanctuary of Athena Itonia still flourished in fifth-century Athens, their Thessalian origins and associations would have been brought home to the Athenians when the Thessalian allies who were again in Athens at the start of the Archidamian War very likely gravitated to the old shrine of their national goddess and even camped near it, as did their countrymen a century earlier.

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lack of further evidence, the *terminus post quem non* of the Itonian cult can be only a matter of speculation. Given Greek polytheism and the scrupulousness of *deisidaimonia*, the ancient cult deities tended to be aggregative rather than substitutive, and they were not apt to be "decanonized" like those Christian saints whose hagiographies were eventually found to be largely apocryphal. In light of such religious conservatism, it is possible that the worship of Athena Itonia, while as yet leaving us no evidence, survived as a minor Athenian cult for some span of late antiquity.

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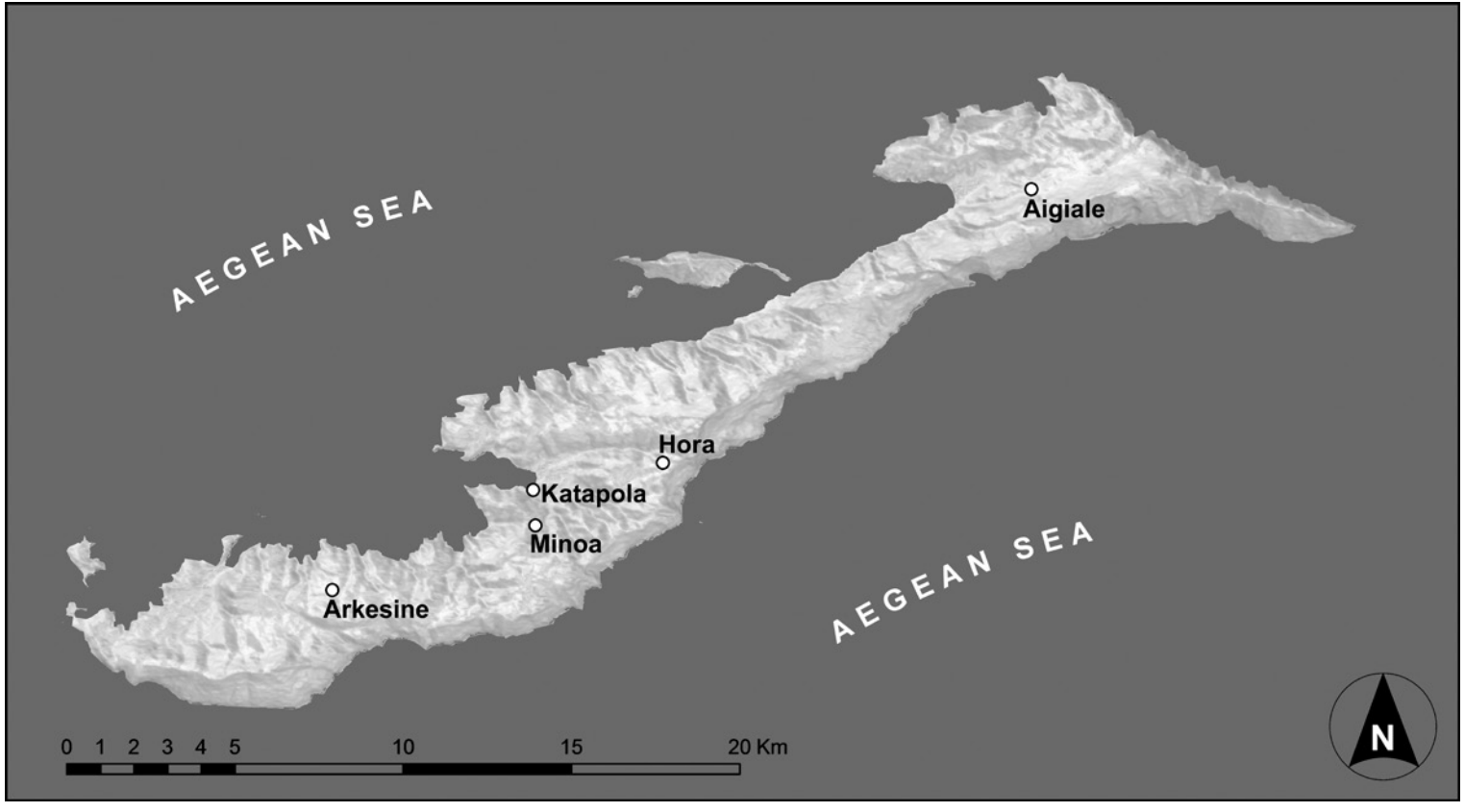

MAP 5 Amorgos

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CHAPTER 4

Amorgos

1 Introduction

Beyond Thessaly, Boiotia, and Athens, the only places in the ancient Greek world where significant and detailed evidence of the cult of Athena Itonia has come to light are Arkesine and Minoa, two of the three *poleis* on the Cycladic island of Amorgos (Map 5).[1] Although there are no ancient literary testimonia to the Itonian cult on the island, extraordinary compensation for this deficit is the survival and discovery of a unique corpus of inscribed decrees of Hellenistic date promulgated by the *poleis* of Arkesine and Minoa in honor of wealthy donor-archons of the festival called τὰ Ἰτώνια, texts that are in the extant Greek history of the cult a treasury of detail about the activities, personnel, and finance of a festival of Athena Itonia.[2] These decrees document

1 The Island of Amorgos, about 20 km southeast of Naxos on the southeast periphery of the Cycladic archipelago, can be located by the GPS coordinates (36.832012 × 25.897065) of its chief modern town ("Amorgos" or "the Hora") in the middle of the island. Amorgos has a length of 32 km, a width of 2–10 km, an area of 126 km^2, and its long axis is oriented SW to NE. Geological evolution has given the island a jagged outline, rugged hills, and gentler slopes to the west that offer better terrain for agriculture and harbors. The site of the *asty* of ancient Arkesine (today Kastri) is located on a promontory (36.808391 × 25.818644) with access to a small harbor on the west coast toward the southern end of the island, and its conterminous *polis*, Minoa, had its *asty* ca. 4 km northeast of Arkesine and near the summit (200 m) of a hill (36.820674 × 25.861591) overlooking to the north its large harbor at modern Katapola. The third ancient Amorgian *polis*, Aigiale, with its *asty* (at modern Vigla) in the northeast reaches of the island, has yielded inscriptions comparable in number to those of Arkesine and Minoa, but to this date none directly concerning the Itonian cult. For Amorgos and its *poleis*, see *RE* I, 1894, cols 1875–1876, s.v. Amorgos, (G. Hirschfeld); *PECS*, pp. 50–51, s.v. Amorgos, with extensive bibliography (M. B. Wallace); *IACP*, pp. 734–735, nos. 471–473. For an overview of the archaeology of Amorgos, see Marangou 2002–2005. For the political history of Amorgos in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Nigdelis 1990, pp. 10–69.

2 The published inscriptions in question are *IG* XII 7. 22, 24, 25, 33, 34, 35 (in the last three, the goddess is called simply Athena, but the byname is inferred from the references to the Itonian festival), *IG* XII Suppl. 330 (Arkesine); *IG* XII 7. 241 (Minoa). *IG* XII 7. 23 and 32 of Arkesine and *IG* XII 7. 229 of Minoa may also have belonged to decrees in honor of archons for the Itonia, but their fragmentary texts makes this uncertain. The Itonia decrees for the most part are roughly dated by letter-forms and in some cases by prosopography. Lila Marangou, Professor Emerita of Archaeology at the University of Ioannina and the recent chief archaeologist on Amorgos has noted (2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 340 and n. 811) that the stones inscribed with *IG* XII 7. 24, and 25 are lost, and that two other such Itonia decrees from the

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the Itonian festival's popularity both in the number of its celebrants and in occasions for its wealthy patrons to demonstrate their generosity to the *polis* and the cult. Much of the kind of information recorded in these decrees is not found in the evidence for the celebration of the Itonia in Thessaly or the Pamboiotia at Boiotian Koroneia, and thus these texts give us a significant net gain in the Panhellenic history of Athena Itonia.

Although the Itonian cult probably existed in more places in the ancient Greek world than we know, its evidence on a small island so far from its only other extensive manifestations, and the absence of a probative case that the cult came to Amorgos from one of those places on the Greek mainland, continue to present interest and challenge in regard to the source, circumstances, and chronology of its propagation to Arkesine and Minoa. Also warranting attention is the relative lateness (early-third century BC) of initial evidence of the cult on Amorgos in comparison with the chronologies of the Itonian sanctuaries on the mainland. Despite the limited geographical area of the combined territories of Arkesine and Minoa, no remains in situ of a securely identified *hieron* of Athena Itonia have been discovered either by chance or by excavation. To be tested in the same line of inquiry are the suggestions that Arkesine and Minoa shared a sanctuary of Athena Itonia situated somewhere between their two city centers and that the two *poleis* celebrated the goddess's festival in common. The final section of this chapter is devoted to the question of the character of the Athena Itonia on Amorgos, concluding with a tentative argument that the goddess had some of the militant and protective attributes seen in her mainland worship, and that for this reason she received extraordinary propitiation and thanksgiving from wealthy donors and other residents of Arkesine and Minoa for protection of their wealth and persons in the third and second centuries, when Amorgos was beset by piratical raids.

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greater region of Arkesine are yet unpublished and are currently stored in the Archaeological Collection on Amorgos (ΑΣΑ [Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή Αμοργού] nos. 275 and 308). I do not have access to the latter two inscriptions, as their publication has been assigned to another scholar, and my survey of *SEG* and *L'Année* indicates that that publication is still forthcoming. The present study will eventually be augmented or corrected by that publication, and the present study may, *tempore adnuente*, provide some information that is useful in the editing of yet unpublished documents. For economy of wording in this work, "extant inscriptions" will refer only to those published as of this writing. Because archaeological remains of Amorgos are so scattered, and because copies of some decrees were to be published in various places, the modern finding-places of the Itonia inscriptions allow little or no certainty about their ancient locations with regard to the modern landscape. See Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 2, pp. 345–347, for a list of locations where inscriptions were found. It is also unknown whether the majority of extant Itonia decrees are of Arkesine because it originally produced more than Minoa or because of the random chances of survival and discovery.

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2 The Source of the Itonian Cult on Amorgos

As in the prior chapters of this book a primary item of business is investigation of the possible sources and circumstances of the propagation of the Itonian cult. In the case of Amorgos these questions require lengthy attention for a number of reasons. As for many probes into ancient history, the extant evidence for this transmission of the cult is in large part insubstantial and circumstantial and thus allows of no obvious or definitive conclusion. This investigation is also challenged by the fact that the Itonian cult, as it is first evident on this Cycladic island in the early third century BC, is relatively isolated both in time and space from its only other significant manifestations, in Thessaly, Boiotia, and Athens. In spite of these uncertainties, there is scholarly profit in reviewing and evaluating the evidence and arguments that underlie hypotheses put forward to explain the propagation of Athena Itonia's cult to Amorgos. The evidence of the Itonia inscriptions, including their dating mainly from letter-forms, shows that devotion of the Arkesineans and Minoans to the festival of Athena Itonia had a special prominence from the early third to early first centuries BC.[3] While this temporal frame is late in comparison with the chronology of the cult at its known mainland sites, it is obvious even from the earliest epigraphic details about the Arkesinean and Minoan Itonia in the third century that the festival is already an elaborate and expensive celebration. The implications of this are not clear, but there was probably a lengthy period during which Athena's cult and festival evolved gradually, and without epigraphic or literary record, until the extraordinary subsidy of the Itonia by individual wealthy archons led to the inscribing of their decreed honors on stone.[4] The alternative hypothesis, that the cult came to Amorgos in the third century with fully developed rites and a great number of devotees, seems less likely.[5]

3 General corpus dating; third century BC: *IG* XII 7. 22, 23, 24, 25, 241; second century BC: *IG* XII 7. 32, 33, 35, *IG* XII Suppl. 330; second or first century BC: *IG* XII 7. 229.

4 With the premise that the subsidy of the Itonia by wealthy patrons began in the third century BC, we will touch on reasons for this later in our consideration of the character of the Athena Itonia of Amorgos.

5 Early on, Salomon Reinach (1884, p. 453) implied that the earliest of the Itonia inscriptions establishes the *terminus post quem* of the Itonian cult on the island. The fact that the festival on Amorgos was called the Itonia, but a month Itonios is not known in the calendric evidence of the Amorgian *poleis* may argue against a very early chronology by suggesting that the sacred calendars of the Amorgian *poleis* were firmly set before the adoption of the Itonian cult. For the Amorgian months, see Hiller, *IG* XII 7. Index VI, Res sacra, 4, *Menses*, p. 142 (*Amorgiorum menses*), and *IG* XII Suppl., Index IV, Nomina sacra, pp. 244–247; see also Trümpy 1997, pp. 73–77; Loukopoulou 1989, pp. 116–119 and Table II, for the eleven known months known on Amorgos and the isle of Koufonissi. Louisa Loukopoulou (1989,

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To emphasize this point, were it not for the few extant epigraphic texts about Athena Itonia and her festival we would not be aware of the existence of her cult on Amorgos. In anticipation of the objection that before the earliest of the Itonia decrees there is no extant evidence of the cult, such as dedicatory inscriptions, it can be noted that even during or after the period of these decrees there is no other explicit evidence of the cult. Other questions about the introduction of the Itonian cult allow of no answer from current evidence: Did it come to both Arkesine and Minoa at the same time and from the same source, or did it come to one *polis* and, given the proximity of the two *astê*, was easily and quickly embraced by the other? In comparison, the relative isolation of the *polis* of Aigiale in the north of the island may have made it a less likely candidate for a share in the Itonian cult and thus unyielding of any evidence. In any case, whether or not there is any credibility in the propositions to be considered later, that Arkesine and Minoa shared an Itonian sanctuary and had a common festival of Athena Itonia, the evidence of the Itonia decrees shows that, however the cult came to Amorgos, the Arkesinean and Minoan versions of it were in some respects quite similar.

Consideration of the origin of Athena Itonia on Amorgos may begin with the premise that the relative temporal and geographical isolation of this instance of her cult and the fact that this Cycladic island had relatively minor influence in ancient Greek history make it unlikely that the Itonian cult was indigenous to Arkesine or Minoa. Most scholarly notes on the transmission of the Itonian cult to Amorgos have looked to a source in Thessaly or Boiotia, and one significant point of circumstantial evidence in favor of Thessaly is that fact that it is the only place other than Amorgos where we know that Athena had a festival called τὰ Ἰτώνια. Beyond that, however, there are no significant ritual features of the cult of Athena Itonia that are peculiar to Amorgos and one of the known Itonian domains on the mainland and are thus compelling clues to the origin of her worship on the island. Most of scholarly choices of Thessaly or Boiotia as the source of the Amorgian cult are not based on detailed rationale,[6] but only on the prominence and apparent chronological priority of the worship of Athena Itonia in the two regions of Central Greece. A problem with most such general propositions is that they by-pass the necessary consideration repeated

pp. 116–119) argued that the three Amorgian *poleis* had the same calendar, but, as Catherine Trümpy (1997, pp. 73–77) observed, the evidence for several months is found only as early as the Hellenistic period.

6 An exception to the unelaborated suggestions of origin is the detailed argument of Constantine Lagos (2009) that the Itonian cult came to Amorgos from Boiotia, for which see below, pp. 211–213 and footnotes 16–21.

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earlier in this volume,[7] that elsewhere in the Greek world there were likely worshippers of Athena Itonia, now lost to our knowledge, who may have been propagators of her cult. With the further awareness that ancient Greek cults often pass from *metropolis* to *polis,*[8] most of those who propose Thessaly or Boiotia as the source of the Itonian worship on Amorgos suggest that settlers of some kind imported the cult from Central Greece.[9] At the outset we can rule out Thessalian or Boiotian colonists in the sense of the large groups of ἄποικοι who settled the Mediterranean and Euxine shores mainly in the eighth to sixth centuries BC,[10] for such a mission would certainly have transferred Aiolic elements to the Amorgian dialect, but it has none. Furthermore, the great landscapes of Thessaly and Boiotia, their fertility, and their usual political cohesion from the Archaic through the Hellenistic ages would have largely precluded the most common reasons for Greek colonization, that is, insufficient arable land for the population[11] and severe internal or external political or military

7 See above, p. 9–10 and footnotes 21–22.

8 See Malkin 1987 for the relations of religion and colonization in ancient Greece.

9 Thessaly or Boiotia: Dittenberger, *Syll.*[2] 642 n. 2 (*incolae*); Nilsson 1906, pp. 89–90 (*einwanderer*); Thessaly: Moretti 1962, p. 100 (*coloni,*) "ad Amorgo ove è stata indubbiamente importata da coloni tessalici"; Barbara Kowalzig (2007, p. 362 n. 72) noted Arkesine and Amorgos [*sic*; Minoa] on Amorgos as places where the Itonian cult was "allegedly" brought by Thessalian *settlers* who thus stated "their successful establishment in a new place," a propagation that Kowalzig likened in motive to the goddess's journey of conquest in the settlement of Boiotia. Ada Adler (*RE* IX, 1916, col. 2376, s.v. Itonia), citing Wilhelm Dittenberger's attribution of the Amorgian cult to Thessalian or Boiotian *incolae*, favored the Thessalians on the added analogical ground that the more distant Aegean island of Kos sent a theoric mission to Thessalian Itonos around the beginning of the third century BC (*IG* XII 4.1. 133 B, *bd*; see above, Chapter One, p. 52), probably on the occasion of the celebration of Athena's festival there. See the same decree (frag. gdb, lines 126–130) for Koan honors to the Thessalians, apparently for providing grain to Kos when the island suffered famine. Though there is no clear evidence that Kos adopted the Itonian cult (see above, Chapter One, p. 56 and footnote 189), the Koan analogy argues better that Amorgian visitors to Thessaly brought the cult back to their island.

10 See *OCD*[4] 2014, pp. 348–349, s.v. colonization, Greek (D.W.R. Ridgway).

11 The size and fertility of the Thessalian and Boiotian plains generally made their populations not only self-sufficient in grain but also exporters of surplus. For Thessaly, see Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.11; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 8.7.4; Westlake [1935] 1993, pp. 1–7; Larsen 1968, p. 21 and n. 1, and p. 111: "[Thessaly] was larger, and instead of importing grain it actually produced more than was needed at home and early began exporting it." See Figs. **22** and **21** for the Thessalian coin type of a germinating ear of wheat as a national symbol of grain production. For the wealth of agricultural resources in Thessaly, see also Mili 2015, pp. 250, 252 n. 205, 259 n. 3, 261; Garnsey, Gallant, and Rathbone 1984, especially pp. 30–35; *CAH*[2] VI, pp. 558–559 (M.M. Austin); Sprawski 1999, pp. 52–56; Archibald 2000, pp. 212, 217, 224, 227. Famines in Thessaly and Boiotia were relatively rare and addressed by other means than colonizing. For a Boiotian grain shortage in 330–324 BC, when some *poleis* received

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pressure.[12] Large-scale colonization aside, a lesser kind of Greek settlement abroad that might propagate a religious cult was the establishment of a center for the exploitation and trade of various resources. On this point, it is conceivable, though not borne out by any concrete evidence, that Thessalians or Boiotians, as regular exporters of grain, had an ongoing commercial mission on Amorgos, not a large colony, but an entrepôt that served the needs of an island where the rugged landscape was suitable for pasturage and the cultivation of grapes and olives, but less so of cereals.[13] Such a center on Amorgos could also have served as a way- station for longer-range shipping, especially to and from Asia Minor, North Africa and the Levant. In this hypothesis, we can add analogous evidence that in some cases the cults imported by foreign merchants were eventually embraced by the host *polis* and grew to prominence there.[14] For all that, if the Itonian cult came from Central Greece, it is just as

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imports from Kyrene, see Tod, *GHI*, no. 196; *SEG* IX 2; Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI*, no. 96; see also Mackil 2013, pp. 305–308, 310; Migeotte 1984, no. 10; Roesch 1965a; *SEG* XXII 410, lines 4–6; Gartland 2016b, pp. 157–158 and n. 48. See Mackil 2014 pp. 59–62, for shortages (ca. 180–175 BC) entailing an embargo on exports, which suggests that a surplus was usual. Though Thucydides had in mind primarily prehistoric migrations when he observed in his Archaeology (1.2; see Hornblower, *CT* vol. 1, pp. 10–11) that the most fertile regions of Greece, such as Thessaly and Boiotia, were the favored destinations of migrants, the later agricultural abundance and stability of those regions, and thus the absence of colonization to acquire land or food, was consistent with the historian's observation and part of the basis for it. For Boiotia specifically on this point, see Larson 2007, p. 57.

12 Of the two known cases of Boiotian colonizing, that from Tanagra may have been the result of political strife, but it was to Herakleia Pontikê on the Black Sea in the sixth-century BC; see Wehrli 1969, Herakleides Pontikos, Schütrumpf 2008, F 3; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 44a; Paus. 5.26.7; Just. *Epit.* 16.3.4–6; Mackil 2013, p. 25 and n. 17.

13 See Bissa 2009, p. 197, for evidence from the late fourth century BC that some Cycladic islands required grain imports. Also on the insufficiency of grain production in the islands, see Rutishauser 2012, pp. 37–41 and n. 153. See *IG* XII 7. 11, a decree of the Arkesineans in honor of Epianaktides of Thera for bringing grain to their city. Although Amorgos would have been well situated on the routes of grain trade to Greece from North Africa and the Levant, there may have been breakdowns in this source, especially after the decline of Athenian naval power. Other specific evidence of the dearness of grain on Amorgos may be its apparent distribution to 500 people in attendance at an Itonian festival (*IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 17–18 (ἐσι]/[το]μέτρησεν) [Arkesine; 2nd c. BC]), whether this grain was taken home or used for the festival banqueting; on this dole, see below, p. 233 and footnotes 64–65.

14 Cf. the case of the Cypriote merchants from Kition who receive the right of land ownership to establish their sanctuary of Aphrodite at Athens (*IG* II^3 1, 337 [333/2 BC]; Tod, *GHI*, no. 189; Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI*, no. 91). Greek polytheism facilitated a local society's embrace of imported cults; see, e.g., Williams 1986, pp. 13–24, for the Phoenician cult of Astarte at Corinth. Cf. above, Chapter Three, pp. 183–203, for the hypothesis that the Itonian cult came to Athens with Thessalian mercenaries of Peisistratos but was taken over and honored by the Athenians for two centuries or more.

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likely, but again direct evidence is wanting, that the Amorgians, as seafaring people, regularly sailed for grain to Boiotia or, more likely, the Thessalian harbors in the Gulf of Pagasai, learning there the worship of Athena Itonia and bringing it back to their island.

In the Hellenistic age large-scale resettlement of Greeks was limited to the mainly military colonies made in West Asia and Egypt by Alexander and the Diadochoi, especially Seleukos.[15] At the same time, however, the politics and military affairs of the Successors and their dynasties deeply affected both the Greek mainland and the Aegean Sea, and it is from this epoch that Constantine Lagos has drawn a uniquely detailed argument for the source and circumstances of the propagation of Athena Itonia to Amorgos.[16] The complexities of his hypothesis warrant a detailed review. Lagos began his argument with two questionable premises advanced by many of his predecessors, namely, that the source of the cult lay in the priority and prominence of Athena Itonia in Thessaly or Boiotia, and that its earliest epigraphic mention on Amorgos around the beginning of the third century dates its introduction there. As noted earlier, the Itonian cult may have been propagated from places where its evidence has been lost, and the earliest epigraphic evidence of the cult on Amorgos is probably not contemporary with its inauguration there. Comparing the secondary role of Zeus in one instance of sacrifice at an Arkesinean celebration of the Itonia with the partnership of Athena and Zeus and the supposedly unique chthonic elements at the Itonian sanctuary near Boiotian Koroneia, Lagos ruled out Thessaly in favor of Boiotia as the point of the Amorgian cult's origins.[17] He also noted a specific and influential connection of Boiotia and Amorgos in the persons of Philokles, a commander of the Ptolemaic fleet, and his subordinate, Bakchon son of Niketas, a Boiotian whose appointment as *nesiarchos* of the League of the Islanders during the period 288–279 BC may have been facilitated through the influence of Philokles, who also had connections with Boiotia and may have made the acquaintance of

15 See *OCD*[4] 2014, p. 349, s.v. colonization, Hellenistic (P. Briant).

16 Lagos 2009.

17 For the lesser sacrifice to Zeus at an Itonia of the Arkesineans, see *IG* XII 7. 35, lines 9–10; see below, pp. 225–226 and footnote 75, for this sacrifice. See also above, Chapter Two, pp. 120–125, for the related discussion of the identity and dubious chthonic character of the male deity depicted in a statue by Agorakritos for the Itonian sanctuary near Boiotian Koroneia and the relationship of that deity to Athena Itonia of the same cult shrine. Regarding Lagos's observation (p. 84 n. 13) that the putative elements of the underworld distinguished the Boiotian cult from that in Thessaly, we have noted in Chapter One (above, p. 25 and footnote 69) that some scholars have proposed, but probably erroneously, that a chthonic Athena Itonia originated in Thessaly and passed from there to Koroneia.

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Bakchon there. While admitting that there is no evidence that Bakchon alone, or with the help of Philokles, introduced the Itonian cult to Amorgos, Lagos noted that their joint authority in the Cyclades about the time of the cult's earliest evidence there is a chronological coincidence "too attractive to be lightly dismissed," and that the institution of such a cult on the island would have been consistent with Ptolemaic religious practice.[18] Lagos concluded his essay with further speculation as to why Amorgos, "of all the Cyclades," would have accepted the Itonian cult.[19] He suggested that Bakchon might have had a 'personal' relationship to the island, or that the citizens of Amorgos wished to flatter his authority. Lagos speculated further, with analogical reference to Athena Itonia as a major deity of the Thessalian and Boiotian Leagues, that the Itonian cult attested at Arkesine and Minoa was a form of "federal" worship, that is, a cult of all the Amorgian cities in a league of Ptolemaic establishment that is alluded to in Classical and Hellenistic sources and was in the tradition of island leagues.[20] Lagos concluded by asking rhetorically whether the putative league of Amorgian cities could have adopted Athena Itonia as its official cult, adding that the answer can only be given with certainty when the island's Itonian sanctuary is discovered and excavated. The discovery of such a *temenos* would indeed add to our knowledge of the cult of Athena Itonia on Amorgos, but in lieu of findings at that site or elsewhere of probative evidence of the source and circumstances of the cult's adoption, those topics would still be open to question. Lagos is to be credited for offering his argument as a

18 As a parallel for Bakchon's proposed personal introduction of the cult, Lagos (2009, p. 86 and n. 26) cited Hiller von Gaertringen 1904, pp. 89–102, for the case (ca. 260 BC) of Artemidoros of Perge, a foreign official of Ptolemy II, who dedicated a Theran sanctuary to his favorite gods. Illustrative of the religious practices in the Ptolemaic Empire was not only the merger of Egyptian and Greek ruler cults but also the general support of local cults to facilitate political power; see Hölbl 2001, pp. 98–112, 169–173; Wellendorf 2008.

19 It is possible that the Itonian cult existed in other Cycladic islands, but, of all of them, only Amorgos has yielded evidence thus far.

20 For a discussion and bibliography of the question of a *koinon* of the Amorgians, see Liampi 2004. Rutishauser (2012, p. 186) doubted the existence of a federation of the three Amorgian *poleis*, at least during the period of Athenian ascendancy, even though the *Amorgioi* are a unity on the Tribute Lists and the roll of the Maritime Confederacy; Leopold Migeotte (1984, p. 191) saw in *IG* XII 7. 68 signs of some kind of Amorgian federation in the late fourth to early third centuries, but Constantakopoulou (2005, p. 19) disputed this. The absence of evidence of the Itonian cult in Aigiale detracts from the hypothesis of federal worship of Athena Itonia on the island. Moreover, we will argue below (pp. 233–238) two propositions that oppose federal worship: The epigraphic evidence of the Itonian cult and festival does not show beyond doubt that Arkesine and Minoa shared a sanctuary of Athena Itonia, and the same evidence weighs heavily against the idea that the two *poleis* shared a celebration of the Itonian festival.

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new interpretation of evidence and not a definitive answer to the questions of whence and how Athena Itonia came to Amorgos. His initial premise that the cult was not indigenous is a secure one, but, as stressed earlier, we must allow the possibility that Athena Itonia was worshiped in places now unknown, from which the cult could have been transmitted to other places now known or unknown. Therefore, while Thessaly and Boiotia are plausible sources of the Amorgian cult, neither candidacy is axiomatic. Lagos's essay is an ambitious connection of many historical dots, but many of those dots and their connections are speculative enough to render the whole speculative. Lagos's statement early in his article is also true at its end: "For only one thing we can be certain about the cult and that is that it was imported to the island and was not indigenous."[21]

While there is no compelling case that Thessalians or Boiotians brought the worship of Athena Itonia to Amorgos, we should look for a source of the Itonian cult in evidence of actual colonization of the island by other polities. Leaving aside pre-Greek settlers evident in archaeological remains of the early Bronze Age and the toponym Minoa, one may cite Greek and early Byzantine lexicographers who testify, not altogether consistently, that Naxians and Samians colonized Amorgos.[22] It is difficult, however, to tell whether these testimonia reflect long remembered traditions of original settlements or simply creative claims of ancestral bonds and metropolitan status by new settlers who, mainly from the late third to early second centuries BC but occasionally up to the Roman imperial age, assumed full authority in the Amorgian cities, where in official epigraphic texts they are characterized as "Naxians residing in Arkesine" and "Samians residing in Minoa."[23] These formulas may be doubtful

21 Lagos 2009, p. 82.

22 Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ἀμοργός) preserves the claim that a Naxian, Karkesios, colonized Amorgos and named it Karkesia; see also a scholion to Dionys. Per. 525; Liampi 2004, p. 66. A fragment of the iambic poet, Semonides of Amorgos (*FGrH* 534 F 1a) notes a claim of the *Suda* that more than 400 years after the Trojan War the Samians sent Semonides himself, then a fellow citizen, to found the three *poleis* of Amorgos; see Lambros 1870, p. 353 and n. ε; *RE* III, 1929, col. 184, s.v. Simonides 1) Semonides (J. Geffcken); *IACP*, p. 734 [G. Reger]; Jules Delamarre (*IG* XII 7, p. VII) saw the sequence of Amorgian settlements as "Insula primo a barbaris, deinde a Naxiis, post a Samiis occupata." See Marangou 1980a, pp. 418–420 and nn. 31–33, for bibliography on historical, epigraphic, and linguistic evidence of the early relations of Samos with Amorgos, particularly Minoa. Coinage types of Samian Hera issued at Minoa (Liampi 2004, p. 76) and the fact that some Samian months are found on Amorgian calendars (*Syll.*^{3} 976; *IG* XII 7. 241; see Loukopoulou 1989, pp. 116–117 n. 2) may also indicate a *metropolis-apoikia* link.

23 See, e.g., Arkesine: IG XII 7. 50, line 2: Ναξίων τῶν Ἀμοργὸν Ἀρκέσιναν οἰκούντων …; Minoa: IG XII 7. 226 (late 3rd to early 2nd c. BC), lines 11–13, where the formula ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαμίων ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν Μινώηι shows that these Samians assumed a major political role in Minoa. For

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even as circumstantial evidence for a hypothesis of Naxos or Samos as the source of the Itonian cult on Amorgos, for none of the epigraphic texts in which they occur have anything to do with the cult or festival of Athena Itonia, even though their dating in some cases lies within the period when the honorific Itonia decrees show that Athena's cult was of great importance in Arkesine and Minoa. Only the slightest bit of circumstantial and indirect evidence for the hypothesis that Archaic Naxos had the cult of Athena Itonia and brought it to its colony at Arkesine may lie in the fact that the sacred calendar of Sicilian Tauromenion included the month of Itonios, which some have taken as evidence of that city's possessing the Itonian cult.[24] In 358 BC Tauromenion took in the refugees and possibly the cult of Athena and the month of Itonios from neighboring Sicilian Naxos, a colony which Aegean Naxos had joined as its eponymous member in 735 BC.[25] As seen in the earlier chapters of this book, the scattered origin of finds in the prehistoric Itoneion near Thessalian Philia,[26]

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the imperial period, see, e.g., *IG* XII 7. 239 (end of 2nd c. AD), line 1; 240 (207 AD), line 1. There is still much scholarly debate about the specific status of such Samian and Naxian residents in Minoa and Arkesine, with opinions ranging from coercive imposition of the new authorities by Ptolemaic powers in opposition to the Antigonids to the creation for economic reasons of new settlements in place of, or alongside, the existing communities, perhaps in the manner of cleruchies, an institution that Athens had imposed on Naxians and Samians and which they might have introduced to Amorgos. For the whole controversy and its various viewpoints, see Delamarre (*IG* XII 7, p. 50); Robert 1929, pp. 20–32 (= *OMS* I, 530–542); 1933, pp. 437–442 (*OMS* I, 563–568); *BullÉp* 1979, 426; Kontoleon 1970, p. 5; Rougemont 1983; Nigdelis 1990, pp. 18–24; Reger 1994b, pp. 57, 63–64; Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 33 and nn. 111–112; Liampi 2004, p. 69. For a similar relationship attested in the epigraphic evidence of Milesians dwelling in Aigiale, see Lambros 1870, p. 353 and n. η; Nigdelis 1990, pp. 20–23 and nn. 37–37a; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* v. 1, pp. 454–455; *RE* XV 2, 1932, col. 1616, s.v. Miletos (F. Hiller von Gärtringen). See also the suggestion of Walter Ruppel (1927, p. 316) that a romantic disposition (*eine gewisse Romantik*) might have motivated the late use of these political formulas by the Amorgian *poleis* to express the old connections with their *metropoleis*.

24 Tauromenion: *OCD*[4] 2012, p. 1434, s.v. Tauromenium (A.G. Woodhead and R.J.A. Wilson); *IACP*, no. 48; *PECS*, pp. 886–887. For the month Ἰτώνιος in Tauromenion, see *IG* XIV 426, IV, line 33; 427, I, line 8; 429, I, line 17 ([Ἰ]τω[ν]ίου); Trümpy 1997, pp. 164–167.

25 Hellanikos, *FGrH* 4 F 82 : Θεοκλῆς ἐκ Χαλκίδος μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ναξίων ἐν Σικελίῃ πόλιν ἔκτισε. For Sicilian Naxos, see *RE* XVI, 1935, cols 2064–2079, s.v. Naxos 4) (K. Ziegler); *OCD*[4] 2012, pp. 1004, s.v. Naxos (2) (A.G. Woodhead and R.J.A. Wilson). The role of Aegean Naxos in the Sicilian colony was at times doubted, but it has been confirmed by an inscription published by Margherita Guarducci (1985); for a summary of the question, see Virgilio Costa 1997, pp. 83–102. The month Itonios is not attested for Aegean Naxos, but only two of its months are known; see Trümpy 1997, pp. 72–73. Another possible but indirect propagation of an Itonian cult to Aegean Naxos could have been from Peisistratos of Athens to his fellow tyrant Lygdamis (see above, Chapter Three, p. 198 and footnotes 120–121).

26 See above, Chapter One, p. 71 and footnotes 260–261.

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Alkaios' familiarity with Athena Itonia in Archaic Boiotia,[27] and the early 3rd-century Koan theoric mission to Itonos in Thessaly,[28] show that the Itonian cult was long familiar to Greeks of the central and east Aegean region. Thus, we can only conclude that Naxians or Samians possibly worshipped Athena Itonia, unbeknownst to us, and brought her worship to Amorgos in the process of colonization, but in the final analysis lack of evidence leaves this possibility in hypothetical limbo.

It is necessary to consider a final tentative but possible source of the cult of Athena Itonia at the Amorgian *poleis* of Arkesine and Minoa, namely, Athens, the third mainland location with significant evidence of the cult,[29] and one which had major contacts with Amorgos, especially in the two centuries prior to the epigraphic evidence of the island cult in the Hellenistic age. In the second half of the 5th century the three Amorgian *poleis* were taken into the First Athenian Confederacy and taxed as a single *synteleia* (Ἀμόργιοι) according to the Tribute Lists.[30] From 378 BC to the time the Athenian defeat at Chaironeia in 338, the Amorgian *poleis* were again in close political and military relations with Athens as a collective member of the Second Athenian Confederacy,[31] and during the Social War of 357–355 the Athenians stationed a garrison at Arkesine, undoubtedly because of the strategic location of its acropolis and harbor vis-à-vis the other belligerents in Byzantium, Chios, and Rhodes, and, with the Bosporos being more directly in the war zone, the necessity of protecting the alternative Athenian grain supply from North Africa and the Levant.[32] Brian Rutishauser has opined that even during the last three decades of the fourth century a revitalized Athenian fleet may have patrolled the Aegean in a 'peaceful hegemony' that contributed to the prosperity of the islands as well

27 See above, Chapter Two, p. 91 and footnote 15.

28 See above, Chapter One, p. 52 and footnote 174.

29 See above, Chapter Three, for fifth- and fourth-century BC Athenian epigraphic notices of Athena Itonia in the form of a horos, two treasury accounts and a sacrificial calendar, and for the argued hypothesis that Athens got the cult from Thessaly during the regime of Peisistratos.

30 *IG* I^3 278 col. VI, line 10 (434/433 BC); 279 col. II, line 80 (433/432 BC); 280 col. II, line 73 (432/431 BC); 281 B col. III, line 58 (430/429 BC); 282 col. II, line 41 (429/428 BC). Osborne and Rhodes, *GHI*, nos. 119, 168. Nigdelis 1990, p. 11 and n. 2; Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 28 and n. 80, p. 132.

31 *IG* II^2 43 B 28; Tod, *GHI*, no. 123; Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI*, no. 22.

32 Rutishauser 2000, pp. 249–256; 2012, pp. 184–185 and n. 295; see Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI*, no. 51, for the decree of the Arkesineans (ca. 357/6 [?] BC) honoring Androtion, the Athenian commander of the garrison and temporary governor of Arkesine, for his financial and humanitarian benefactions to the *polis* (see more, below, p. 248 and footnote 155, on Androtion's ransoming of Arkesinean prisoners of an enemy). See also Cawkwell 1981, p. 51; Hornblower 2011, p. 248.

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as Athens,[33] and Katerini Liampi has shown that during and even after direct Athenian political involvement on Amorgos, the influence of Athens is seen not only in coinage, black-glaze and red-figure pottery, and other trade objects, but also in the nomenclature of political offices.[34] Even if Athena Itonia was not a major cult deity at Athens, that would not preclude Athens as a source of the Amorgian cult. Although the majority of Athenian relationships with Amorgos precede the earliest evidence of the Itonian cult on the island, it is worth reemphasizing that the cult may have existed on Amorgos in the Classical period but first gave evidence of itself only in the third century with the inscribed publication of decrees of honors for wealthy archon/donors for the Itonian festival.[35] Although it is by no means certain that the confederate relations of Athenians and Amorgians brought the cult of Athena Itonia to Arkesine and Minoa, in view of the still hypothetical status of all answers to the question of source and circumstances, Athenian maritime hegemony and its considerable involvement with Amorgos in the fifth and fourth centuries BC must be given serious thought.

To end on a general note, one of the instructive results of an investigation of the possible origin and circumstances of the propagation of the worship of Athena Itonia is a clearer realization that the same cult can be found in disparate times and places without any evidence that makes a probative link between them, a good example being this thriving cult on the small island of Amorgos, far from the regions of mainland Greece where the cult is otherwise well attested. Thus it seems fair to conclude, after consideration of the testimony that is currently available to us, that it is still not possible to construct a clinching argument for the place of origin or the circumstance that brought the cult of Athena Itonia to this island, and this question will remain open until the discovery of evidence that definitively answers it.

33 Rutishauser 2012, pp. 8, 199 and n. 69.

34 Liampi 2004, pp. 73–75, 80–81. Even without evidence of an Athenian cleruchy on Amorgos in the Classical period, some local political titles echo those of Athens; e.g., εἰσαγωγεῖς ("introducers" of judicial cases in Arkesine); θεσμοθέται (lawgivers in Arkesine and Aigiale); πρόεδροι (presidents of the Assembly in Aigiale).

35 A particular reason for the funding of the Amorgian celebration of the Itonia by wealthy individuals during the Hellenistic period will be considered below, pp. 247–254, in a discussion of the local character of Athena Itonia.

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3 Archons for the Itonia

As noted earlier, our current knowledge of the cult of Athena Itonia on the island of Amorgos comes exclusively from the few extant whole and fragmentary inscriptions, mainly decrees of honors to be given to wealthy benefactors who subsidized and oversaw participation of the populations of the *poleis* of Arkesine and Minoa in the celebrations of Athena Itonia's festival, τὰ Ἰτώνια.[36] Although these magistrates were to be honored primarily for benefaction and service to the festival of Athena Itonia, and the office is sometimes referred to as the archonship for that festival,[37] the Itonia may not have been always the only purview of this office,[38] for in the case of the Arkesinean archon Kleophantos, the son of Kleophon, in the third century BC, he is said to have been "chosen for the Itonia and *the other things* ([π]ροαναιρεθεὶς εἰς τὰ Ἰτώνια τά τε / [ἄ]λλα)."[39] Further on, in a treatment of the functions of these honored archons, we will consider what other benefactions τὰ ἄλλα might have implied and whether they were an integral part of the Itonia.

The epigraphic evidence does not indicate the term of service of the archons for the Itonia, but their tenure would have been at least long enough for all the preparation and the accomplishment of the festival, and, if the office entailed responsibilities or benefactions beyond those related to the festival and carried out at different times, then the term of office may have been longer. Moreover, since the Itonia decrees honor individual archons for the conduct of an office that has already taken place, the texts do not include the conditions for appointment to the archonship, but we can infer something about the selection, partly from wording in the inscribed texts and more so from obvious

36 Though the testimony of large-scale subsidy of festivals by wealthy individuals is an unusual source of information about the Itonia of Arkesine and Minoa, this means of funding was not unique to the cult of Athena Itonia or to Amorgos; cf. Müller 2014, p. 134, for the case of Xenarchos of Hyettos whose benefactions included exempting the Boiotian *poleis* from their contributions to the festival of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia.

37 E.g. in third century Minoa, it is said of the honorand Epinomides, son of Theogenos (*IG* XII 7. 241, line 5), ἄρξας τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν εἰς Ἰτώνια.

38 At least in the fourth and third centuries BC, Arkesine had an eponymous archon who served as the chief of a board of archons (*IG* XII Suppl. 331; *IG* XII 7. 55 [= *Syll.*^{3} 1200]; Sherk 1990, p. 262). If the archon for the Itonia was a regular magistrate, he may have been an *ex officio* member of this board. On the question of frequency of the archonship for the Itonia, see also below, pp. 220–221 and footnotes 52–53.

39 *IG* XII 7, 22, line 5–6. For further evidence that the honored archon's concern was sometime more than Athena, see in a later (2nd c. BC) decree of the Arkesineans (*IG* XII 7. 33, lines 8–11) the expression ἄρξας τεῖ] / [Ἀθήν]ᾶι τεῖ Ἰτωνίαι τά τε ἄλλα [ἐπεμελήθη καλῶς] / [καὶ φ]ιλοτίμως πε[ρί τε τ]ὴν [πομπὴν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν] / [τὴν] τοῖς θεοῖς.

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prerequisites for the position as described there. The unusual verb προαναιρέω to describe the choice of Kleophantos son of Kleophon as archon for the Itonia of the Arkesineans[40] has probably the same meaning as the more common προαιρέω, wherein the προ-prefix may indicate a degree of pre-selection or a preferential choice as opposed to election from a large slate of candidates,[41] and this would bear out what is easily inferred from what we know of the honored archons of these decrees, namely, that the candidates would have to be from a small minority of very wealthy families. This exclusiveness is further corroborated by the fact that Agathinos, son of Agathinos, is praised for his generosity to the Itonia a century after his ancestor Kleophantos was honored for similar benefactions,[42] the point being that the amount and durability of wealth required for such generosity would be rare enough that recurrence of election from the same family is understandable.[43] It may be that the willingness and ability of individuals to support the festival of Athena Itonia on this scale was not limited to citizens, but that is uncertain.[44] There would obviously have been an official process for the selection of these archons, but, in view of the exclusive field of candidates and the appreciation of their great generosity, it was probably not a very complicated or competitive process. It may be that choice of the benefactor/magistrates was approved by the same official bodies that decreed their honors, but in the few inscriptions in which the introductory matter survives, there is considerable variation among the individuals and offices involved in the proposal and approval of the decrees.[45] The honors for Kleophantos, and, a century later, those for his descendant Agathinos were proposed by individuals, simply named, and decreed by the *boulê* and the

40 *IG* XII 7. 22, line 5; *Syll.*[3] 1045.

41 See LSJ, s.v. προαναιρέω, III; s.v. προαιρέω, II 1–4; see also *Syll.*[3] 1045 n. 2.

42 See *Syll.*[2] 643 for an emended version of *IG* XII 7. 33, with commentary.

43 See below, pp. 240–244, on the genealogy of this family.

44 It has been suggested (Delamarre 1903, p. 117 and n. 6; Dümmler 1886, p. 108 and n. 13) that a copy of an Arkesinean honorific decree (*IG* XII 7. 32) was dispatched to Knossos (lines 14–17) because the honorand, whose name is lost, was a Knossian, but the reason for this dispatch is uncertain. Since the honors include crowning ceremonies every year at the Dionysia and at the procession of the Itonia in Arkesine, this recipient of honors would seem to have been a Cretan only if he were a regular or long-term resident alien on Amorgos. There is also no indication in the extant lines of this decree that it honored an archon/benefactor for the Itonia. For the likely connection of this decree with relations of Amorgos and Crete in the matter of piracy, see below, p. 252, in the discussion of the character of Athena Itonia on Amorgos. The century-long gap between honors to members of the same family, Kleophantos and Agathinos suggests that they were citizens of Arkesine.

45 For a detailed treatment of the largely democratic modes of governance in the Hellenistic Amorgian *poleis*, see Nigdelis 1990, pp. 23–51.

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dêmos of the Arkesineans with an *epistatês* presiding.[46] The decree of honors, however, for Alexion the son of Dionysios, another archon for the Itonia of the Arkesineans in the third century, has no mention of an *epistatês*, but was proposed by the priest (?) and the *strategoi*, and was approved by those going to the festival of the Arkesineans (ἔδοξεν τ[οῖς ἰοῦσιν ε]ἰς τὰ Ἰτ[ώ]ν[ια] / Ἀρκεσινέων).[47] An introductory fragment of another such decree from third-century Arkesine states that a son of Mikion, who had served as priest (ἱερατ[εύσας]), made the proposal, and also includes fragments of the formula, "It was decreed by those going to the Itonia of the Arkesineans."[48] It is uncertain whether the use of ἔδοξε in these cases had the same legal force as its use by the *boulê* and *dêmos*. Since in both of these cases, persons of priestly or military title proposed the decrees, it is plausible that their εἶπον gave legal authority to the ἔδοξε of those going to the Itonia. Even if various communal bodies or individuals had the right to pass such decrees of honors, the procedure for decrees in most Greek states would lead us to assume that ἔδοξε here indicates that this considerable authority over the awarding of honors has been delegated by the *boulê* and *demos* and their presiding officers. Rounding out this discussion is a further variation in a case of the other Amorgian *polis* devoted to the Itonian festival, Minoa, where, from the third century, in the sole published example of the formulas at issue, in a decree of honors for Epinomides, the son of Theogenos, no proposer is mentioned, but the decree is approved by a priestly *koinon*, the *hierourgoi* of Athena Itonia (ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἱερουργοῖς / τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰτωνίας).[49] The decree is also unusual in being closely dated by the name of Pankritos as

46 *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 2–3; 33, lines 1–2. In the fourth century the *boulê* and the *dêmos* of the Arkesineans were presided over by a board of *prytaneis* (*IG* XII 7. 3, line 38; 4, line 6). Though the *prytaneis* are not mentioned in *IG* XII 7. 22 and 33, the *epistatês* must have been their presiding officer. *Prytaneis* in the fifth or fourth century BC at Minoa approve a γνώμη of citizenship (*IG* XII 7. 219), but they do not appear later in the minimal evidence for the Minoan celebration of the Itonia.

47 *IG* XII 7. 24, line 1–2. The office of *strategos* is seen elsewhere in a decree of Arkesine (*IG* XII 7. 69, line 47).

48 *IG* XII 7. 25, lines 2–3.

49 *IG* XII 7. 241, line 2. This decree does not name the promulgating *polis*, but see Jules Delamarre's comment in *IG* (loc. cit.) that, although the similarity of subject matter to that of the Itonia decrees of Arkesine might lead one to assign this inscription to that city, Gaston Deschamps (1888, p. 326) was right to assign this decree to Minoa, because it was approved by the *hierourgoi*, priests of a college apparently peculiar to Minoa among the Amorgian *poleis*, and whose leader is called the *demiorgos*, the same title as the eponymous magistrate of Samos, the putative metropolis of Minoa. See also Delamarres's (1896, pp. 73–77) earlier edition and commentary on this inscription. Ἱερουργός has essentially the same meaning as the more common ἱεροποιός. Wilhelm Dittenberger (*Syll.*³ 1046 n. 3) compared these priests of Athena Itonia with *hoi hieroi* of Andania in the mysteries of

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δημιοργός in the month of Kronion.[50] Taken all together, these few examples spanning two centuries indicate that at Arkesine and Minoa there was some freedom, rather than an exclusive procedure, in the choice of officials who could nominate and approve honors for those who had served as archons for the Itonia, but, considering the prominence of the *demos* in these decrees, it is probable that any latitude in the initiation and approval of honors for support of the Itonian festival was backed by the authority of the citizens or their representatives in the respective *poleis*.

A point of inquiry that logically arises from the honorific decrees for these benefactor/archons is the frequency of such huge subsidies of the Itonia from the wealth of individuals. Admittedly, the minimal data make any answer to this question somewhat speculative. We have little idea of what percentage we possess of the ancient corpus of such inscriptions, nor do we know what percentage of such huge benefactions and honors were recorded on stelai—probably most of them, because to have permanent testimony to one's generosity in the form of inscriptions on stone in the agora or sanctuary was one of the key honors. Also by reason of the vast sums given by these individuals, and the probability that persons of such wealth were a small percentage of the population, it is likely that such cases were infrequent, and this sense is reinforced by the wording of the decrees to the effect that the archon/benefactor is relieving those attending the festival of their fees and donations (*symbolai, pelanos*), as if individual festival-celebrants normally paid for themselves.[51] We know from the honors decreed for an unknown person at Minoa that the

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Demeter and Persephone, for which see Gawlinski 2012, passim. See more on the *hierourgoi* in the section on finance of the Itonia, below, pp. 229 and footnote 90.

50 The eponymous magistrate *dêmiorgos* is also attested in the islands of Naxos (e.g., *IG* XII 5. 38, line 1), Astypalaia (*IG* XII 3. 174, line 1, as restored), and a number of other Ionic (see *Syll.*[3] 1046 n. 1) and Doric (Hesych. s.v. δαμιουργοί) *poleis*. Πάγκριτος or Πάνκριτος is seen variously in Amorgian prosopography. This Pankritos, the *dêmiorgos*, may be identified with the *strategos* of another third-century Minoan inscription (*IG* XII 7. 225, line 10). Perhaps a grandson or other descendant relative is Pankritos, the son of Kleon, mentioned a century or more later, in another possible Itonia decree of Minoa as one of the *prytaneis* who are to see to the inscribing of the decree (*IG* XII 7. 229, line 19). For the month of Kronion and the Amorgian calendars, see above, pp. 207–208 and footnote 5. Since these decrees were promulgated after the archons had completed their service to the Itonia, this month is no indication of the time of the year when the festival was celebrated.

51 When individuals had to pay to attend a festival, their contributions could be calculated as shares in the total cost of the festival after subtraction of funding from other sources; cf. below, pp. 227–228 and footnotes 83–85, the calculations of the cost per celebrant of banqueting at the Itonia of the Arkesineans.

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Itonia were celebrated there yearly,[52] and the same was probably the case at Arkesine. It is doubtful, however, that few families, if any, would have had the resources to support the festival annually, or even regularly, in the monetary figures we see in these decrees. Though we have no detailed information about those festivals that were financed for the most part by the fees of the individual participants, we might infer that the office, ἀρχὴ εἰς τὰ Ἰτώνια, was integral to the annual festival and was therefore filled even in lieu of a major benefactor. If that was the case, then there were any number of archons who managed the Itonia without much of their own wealth, and thus did not merit honors sufficient to be decreed and immortalized on stone. In the same hypothetical archonships, there might have been fewer celebrants or less sumptuous banqueting than at the Itonia when the *symbolai* were subsidized by wealthy donors. The alternative possibility is that this archonship was an honor reserved for individuals with the ability and will to undertake the large-scale financing evident in the Itonia decrees.[53] The extant inscriptions show that, in addition to making those contributions, the honored archons were leading participants in the action of the Itonian festival, but those duties were such as could have been carried out either by archons who were not great benefactors or by officials of other title.

4 Functions of the Honored Archons

The magistrates honored as archons εἰς τὰ Ἰτώνια, while making their monetary contributions and managing the community resources, which will be part of a later discussion of festival finance, took other leading roles in the events of the festival that were either inherent duties of the office or were further honors

52 The crowning of the honorand was to be re-proclaimed *each year* at the Itonia on the third day at the procession (*IG* XII 7. 229, lines 5–6: καθ' ἕκαστο[ν ἐνιαυτὸν] / [ἐν] το[ῖ]ς Ἰτωνίοις [τ]ῇ τ[ρί]τῃ [ἡ]μέρᾳ, τῇ πομπῇ. On the question of a common celebration of the Itonia by the Arkesineans and the Minoans, see below, pp. 236–238. The annual festival of the Itonia in Thessaly (see Rigsby 2004, pp. 9, 11–12) may have been a precedent for its yearly celebration on Amorgos.

53 Pantelis Nigdelis (1990, pp. 44–45) inferred from the epigraphic evidence that wealthy Amorgians who held high office customarily, but not always, gave various benefits to the community during their tenure (Ο ρόλος των εύπορων Αμόργιων στη ζωή της κοινότητας τους φωτίζεται περισσότερο χάρη σε μερικές επιγραφές που αποτυπώνουν τις ποικίλες ευεργεσίες στις οποίες προβαίνουν συνήθως, αλλά όχι πάντοτε, κατά τη διάρκεια της θητείας τους σε κάποιο αξίωμα).

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or privileges given them because of their generosity.[54] These specific activities may be best conveyed here by a single composite scenario, but one that notes variations in the procedures and is interspersed with commentary. The archon inaugurates the Itonia in the agora of the *polis* with an order, announced by a herald,[55] that all the citizens and resident aliens are to process to the festival exempt from fees.[56] We can presume that the festival is held in and around the *temenos* of Athena, which is apart from the agora and perhaps from the *asty*.[57] In that case the procession is a matter of practical organization, but, as in many festivals, it is also an important ritual in itself.[58] The festival lasts at least six days and for that period the archon provides at his expense a feast for all those in attendance. He also pays for sacrificial animals, which provide some or all of the meat for the feast.[59] The archon's distribution of meat to

54 For two basic activities of the archon at the Itonia, see the example of *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 12–14, and the statement that the archon Kleophantos "has gained honor with regard to the procession and the sacrifice of the goddess" (φιλότιμος γεγέ/νηται περὶ τὴν πομπὴν καὶ τὴν θυσία[ν] / τῆς θεοῦ).

55 This announcement marks the beginning of the festival in the archonships of both Arkesineans and Minoans (see *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 7–8, and *IG* XII 7. 241, line 18, respectively). In the latter decree we have the unique detail that the archon's announcement in the agora is prescribed by law or custom (*IG* XII 7. 241, lines 18–19: προκηρύξας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ / ὡς ὁ νόμος προστάσσει καλῶς καὶ δικαίως). Cf. below, p. 230 and footnote 93, for the phrase [κα]τὰ τὸν νόμον in line 28 of the same decree of Minoa in regard to the crowning of Epinomides. Perhaps the Minoans were simply more conscious and expressive than the Arkesineans of the force of νόμος in the exercise of cultic activities. If a distinction can be made between custom and law, the Greek use of the term κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ("according to the ways of our ancestors") in similar contexts may mean that the νόμος of Minoa here refers to tradition rather than a codified precept.

56 Arkesine: *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 7–11; 33; XII Suppl. 330. In *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 10–11, those told to go to the festival were said to be all Arkesineans and aliens in residence(Ἀρκεσινεῖς πάντας καὶ ξένους τοὺς / ἐνδημοῦντας). Philippe Gauthier (1980, p. 213 and n. 47) argued that the doubly compounded participle παρεπιδημοῦντας in *IG* XII 7. 35, lines 5–6, and as restored in *IG* XII 7. 33, lines 13–14, and XII Suppl. 330, lines 12–13, distinguished aliens who were just passing through, i.e., sojourners, from ἐνδημοῦντας, who were aliens in regular residence. If that was the case, and the two participles were not just synonyms for resident aliens, one might expect to find a case of both such groups being invited to the Itonia, but none is extant. A likely reason for the numbers of aliens in the population of Amorgos was the importance of the island as a trade center, and the inclusion of them in the Itonian festival and its opulent free banqueting would indicate the desirability of these people for the local economy.

57 Whether Arkesine and Minoa shared a sanctuary of Athena Itonia located somewhere between the two *astê*, and whether they had a shared celebration of the Itonia are matters discussed below, pp. 233–238.

58 See also below, p. 225, and footnotes 73–74, on the procession as a ritual of the Itonia.

59 *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 14–17; 24; 33. XII Suppl. 330.

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the celebrants, which is explicitly reported for one celebration of the Itonia of the Arkesineans in the second century BC,[60] is probably to be inferred in the other cases, and because the meat is a gift of the archon, it is probably to be used for the banquets he provides and not taken home by the celebrants.[61] The archon for the Itonia is commonly praised and honored for taking care of the sacrifice,[62] which likely means more than paying for victims and distributing meat, and might include seeing that all the necessary victims, personnel, and equipment are acquired for this elaborate ritual, and then making sure that it is carried out properly.[63] From a celebration of the Itonia of the Arkesineans in the second century BC we have the unique report that the archon, Agathinos, son of Agathinos, in addition to the usual benefaction, distributed grain to all who came to the festival,[64] but it is not clear whether this grain is to be taken home, or, as is probable in the case of distributed meat, used in the festival dining.[65]

The inscribed reasons for the archon's honors in some cases include such unspecific language as "he has taken care well and justly of the office and the common funds (ἐπε[μελή]θη καλῶ[ς] / καὶ δικαίως τῆ[ς ἀρ]χῆ[ς] καὶ τῶ[ν] / κο[ι]νῶν χρη[μά]τω[ν],"[66] or he is honored "because of his excellence and justice and munificence toward the *dêmos* (ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαι/[ο]σύνης καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον)," [67] or that "among other things (τά τε ἄλλα)"[68] he took care of the procession and the sacrifice to the gods well and honorably. These expressions could of course signify administrative and ritual details for the Itonia beyond those inscribed on stone. It is also possible, however, that these indefinite statements refer to activities that were among the responsibili-

60 *IG* XII 7. 35, lines 9–11: ἐβουθύτησέν τε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ βοῦς / [δ]ύο καὶ τῷ Διὶ βοῦν, κ[α]ὶ ἐ[κρ]εανόμησεν τ[οῖς] / [ἰοῦσι] εἰς τὰ Ἰτών[ι]α … The close juxtaposition here of ἐβουθύτησέν and ἐ[κρ]εανόμησεν suggests that it is the cooked meat of the sacrifice that is given to the celebrants.

61 For the treatment and use of meat in animal sacrifice, see the narrative and references in Lalonde 2006, pp. 75–78, 96 n. 10, 109 n. 20, 110 nn. 22 and 25.

62 E.g., *IG* XII 7. 35 (Arkesine, 2nd c. BC), lines 1–2: ἐπεμε]/[λή]θη καλῶς καὶ φιλ[οτί]μως περὶ …/… τὴν θυσίαν τῆς θεοῦ.

63 For the ritual of sacrifice in the Itonia of Amorgos, see below, pp. 225–226 and footnotes 75–77.

64 *IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 17–18.

65 Another honorific decree for an unknown second-century benefactor of the Itonia of the Arkesineans notes the distribution of meat and also mentions grain, but the surrounding text is too damaged to indicate whether the passage concerned a distribution of grain (*IG* XII 7. 35, line 13: ε[ἰς δὲ τὸν] σῖτον δραγμῶ[ν–].

66 *IG* XII 7. 24, lines 6–8.

67 *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 25–26.

68 *IG* XII 7. 33, line 9.

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ties or benefactions of the archon and among the reasons for his honors, but were not for the benefit of the Itonia. There is at least one report of an activity that may, or may not, have been part of the archon's service to the Itonian festival. Among the actions for which the Arkesineans honored Agathinos, the son of Agathinos, in the second century was his staging of athletic contests for boys and men, including a one-stade race, the *diaulos*, the *dolichos*, wrestling, boxing, and *pankration*.[69] Although the prior matter of this decree is mainly about Agathinos' service to the Itonia, the text is lost just before this passage about athletic competitions and none of the following matter is clearly about the festival of Athena Itonia, except for the provisions that Agathinos and his descendants are to be exempt from all the fees for attendance at the Itonia, and that a copy of the decree is apparently to be published on stone in the sanctuary of Athena as well in the agora.[70] As noted above in Chapter Two, equestrian games were hosted at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Boiotian Koroneia in the fifth century BC and there were military and athletic contests in the celebration of the Pamboiotia at the same sanctuary in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods.[71] We know also that competitive athletic games were common in Arkesine, for the honorific decree for Agathinos includes the provision that in the future the *agonothetai* are to crown him before all of the games that the *polis* puts on. It is plausible that athletic contests were only an occasional and added generosity on the part of the archon for this Itonia, for, if they were a regular part of the festival, we might expect that others of the honorific decrees for the ἄρχοντες εἰς τὰ Ἰτώνια would mention them.[72] Whether or not Agathinos' games were part of the Itonia, and whether or not they were regular or occasional, we should probably conclude that the archon's contribution to them was again financial. In any case, since the magistracy is referred to as ἡ ἀρχὴ εἰς τὰ Ἰτώνια, it is probably fair to infer that, even if the archon is honored for generosity unrelated to the Itonia, in general the finance and operation of the festival of Athena Itonia were his chief responsibilities.

69 *IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 24–26.

70 The provision for a stele in the sanctuary is largely, but reasonably, restored (lines 49–50: εἰς [τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς] / [Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰτωνία]ς·).

71 See above, pp. 151–165 with footnotes 251–314.

72 Nigdelis (1990, p. 45 and n. 128) was inclined to believe that these games for men and boys were part of the benefaction of this Agathinos for the Itonia, but he remarked on their uniqueness. *IG* XII Suppl. 330 was first edited three decades after Nilsson (1906, p. 90) wrote of the Amorgian Itonia, "Dass die Itonien mit Spielen verbunden waren, ist nicht glaublich, da sie nicht under den Leistungen der Festleiter erwähnt werden."

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5 Rituals of the Itonia on Amorgos

Because the purpose of the Itonia decrees from Arkesine and Minoa was to honor particularly generous archons for the festival of Athena, for the most part we learn only of those basic rituals which the honorand oversaw or funded—the procession to the sanctuary, the sacrifice, and festival dining. Beyond these basics, some of the inscriptions note other activities that may have been rituals of the Itonia on Amorgos, and, of course, from the great body of evidence about the cult of Athena elsewhere and Greek cult ritual generally we might infer many details that were not deemed relevant or necessary for the purposes of these decrees. About processions to the Itonia little is said beyond the fact that they went from the assembly point in the agora of the *asty* to the *temenos* of Athena, but from a detail in a decree of Minoa we infer that a procession occurred on more than one day in the duration of the Itonia.[73] We know from the four instances where we have the number of those going to the Itonia, 700, 500, 600, and "no less than 550,"[74] that these *pompai* were grand affairs, and we might imagine that they had some of the pageantry and paraphernalia that we see in the evidence of processions in other festivals of Greek gods. As for the ritual of sacrifice for Athena subsidized by the archons for the Itonia, in most cases the decrees simply refer to the sacrifice without further elaboration. Exceptional is the extant fragment of a second-century decree for honors to an unknown archon for the Itonia of the Arkesineans in which we have the specific detail that this magistrate sacrificed two oxen to Athena and one to

73 See above, p. 221 and footnote 52, for a reference to a procession on the third day of the Itonia of the Minoans. As noted above, festival processions were often both practical and ritualistic, giving initial order and hierarchy to the participants and material of the sacrificial rites. Cf., e.g., at Athens the Panathenaic parade from the assembly point around the Pompeion in the Kerameikos to the Acropolis, and the order of its parts as illustrated in the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon; the procession of the Mysteries from the City Eleusinion to the sanctuary at Eleusis; for the Asklepieia at Kos, see Rigsby 1996, no. 49.31: εἴς [τε τὰν] θυσ[ίαν κα]ὶ τὰμ πομπὰν τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι; see also Athena Kavoulaki's (1999) treatise on the social and political character of processions in democratic Athens; for evidence of even minor processions of small groups of worshippers to a popular sanctuary of Zeus at Athens, see Lalonde 2006, p. 72–73. For ritual processions in general, see *OCD*[4] p. 1213, s.v. processions, (R. Seaford); *RE* 21, 1952, cols. 1878–1994, s.v. Pompa 1) (F. Bömer); Burkert 1985, pp. 99–102.

74 Arkesine: *IG* XII 7. 22, line 12; XII Suppl. 330, lines 14–15; XII 7. 35, lines 6–7; Minoa: *IG* XII 7. 241, line 17. These numbers of celebrants of the Itonia are noteworthy if we can trust modern calculations that the combined population of Arkesine and Minoa in the Classical and Hellenistic periods was about 3000 (see, e.g., Ruschenbusch 1984, pp. 266, 270; Nigdelis 1990, p. 18; Reger 1994a, pp. 84–85; Rutishauser 2012, pp. 37–39).

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Zeus.[75] Beyond this exceptional reference, we can assume that such details as the number and type of victims and the names of multiple recipient deities were usually not considered relevant to the honorific decrees. The fact that other deities than Athena were at least occasionally honored with sacrifices at the Itonia is clear not only from the case of Zeus but also in another decree's report that the archon Agathinos at Arkesine in the second century took care of "the sacrifice to the *gods*."[76] The Greek cultic ritual of animal sacrifice was a very elaborate process, which we know well from the evidence of vase paintings, inscriptions, and other literature. There were many possible variations in the procedure that depended on the nature of the cult, its economics, and the purpose of the sacrifice, but there were some steps that were integral to all animal sacrifice and therefore not variable or optional.[77] We can be sure then that mentioning these basic procedures was simply not necessary for the purposes of the Itonia decrees. Less certain is the degree of ritual sanctity involved in the festival dining at the Amorgian Itonia. It is tempting to think of hundreds of devotees dining for six days as just large picnics after the more obviously sacred acts of sacrifice, but in ancient Greek cult it is not so easy to demark sacred and profane actions, and opulent festival dining may have been not only sacred but also very celebratory and popular, especially when subsidized and in a society where the value to the economy of live animals would have made the eating of meat, except game, an unusual treat for most of the celebrants.[78] The spectrum of evidence of Greek cult shows the dispensing of sacrificial meat in a variety of ways, but at the Amorgian Itonia, it seems to have been distributed for the festival dining, if we can generalize from the decreed provision as interpreted and cited above.[79] We do not know how close

75 *IG* XII 7. 35, lines 9–10; see above, p. 211 and footnote 17, for Constantine Lagos's reference to this sacrifice to Zeus as circumstantial evidence of a Boiotian origin of the Itonian cult on Amorgos.

76 *IG* XII 7. 33, lines 10–11: καὶ τὴν θυσίαν] / [τὴν] τοῖς θεοῖς. Cf. above, Chapter One, p. 69 and footnote 249, for an analogous phrase about sacrifice in a decree of the federated Thessalians from the Itonian sanctuary near modern Philia in the region of ancient Thessaliotis, τῆι Ἀθη[ᾶι] / [τῆι Ἰτωνία]ι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς. For this decree see *SEG* XXVI 688, and Habicht 1976, pp. 178–179 and n. 38.

77 For details of the ritual of animal sacrifice, and particularly of bulls or oxen, see the narrative and references in Burkert 1985, pp. 34, 13, 18, 34, 36–38, 40, 51, 55–68, 71, 80, 138, 230; see also Lalonde 2006, pp. 72–76.

78 On the ritual details and meaning of sacrificial meals, see Burkert 1985, pp. 57–58, 64.

79 Above pp. 222–223 and footnotes 59–61, the citation of *IG* XII 7. 35, lines 9–11; since the archon in this case, who is said to have sacrificed three oxen and distributed the meat to all in attendance, gave a feast for 600 people for six days, we might assume that beyond the animals he donated there were additional sources of meat, probably from further

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in time or space the feasting was in relation to the sacrifice. The festival dining probably did not take place within the sacred ground of the *temenos*, which for 700 people would necessarily have to be very spacious, but, as in the feasting of the Panathenaia in the Kerameikos at Athens, the banquets of the Itonia on Amorgos were likely held in a large open space apart from the sanctuary.[80] An occasional feature of sacred dining that might be said to raise the level of its sanctity is the sharing of the sacrificial feast with cult deities in the rite of *theoxenia*, but we have no evidence that this was part of the festival dining at the Itonia on Amorgos or the Itonian cult practices on the Greek mainland.[81]

6 Archontic Monetary Contributions and the Finance of the Itonia

To anyone familiar with the large religious festivals of ancient Greece, even in the absence of monetary accounts, it is apparent that they were very expensive enterprises. From the Itonian cult in Boiotia, we have already had a glimpse of the magnitude of such costs from the inscribed legal woes of Nikareta of Thespiai in the late third century BC, as she tried to recover the sum of 18,833 silver drachmas lent to the Orchomenians to pay for Athena Itonia's festival of the Pamboiotia.[82] The decrees of honors for the archons of the Itonia of the Arkesineans and Minoans on Amorgos are a fund of information about some categories and amounts of the archons' donations for the festivals as well as other sources of funding, and they allow calculation of some specific costs and at least a general sense of the overall budget of these celebrations.[83]

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sacrifices financed from other funds. On the finances of the Amorgian Itonia, see below, pp. 227–230.

80 For dining facilities (*hestiatoria*) within and adjacent to sanctuaries, see Bookidis 1983, pp. 149–155, and in particular p. 151 and n. 8; Bookidis 1990, pp. 86–94; see also Bergquist 1990, especially pp. 40–41, table 2 and fig. 1.

81 In the most formal kind of *theoxenia* a sacrificial meal is set for the cult deity, either together with the human diners or independently. In animal sacrifice generally, the gods were thought to be satisfied at least by the burning of inedible fat and bones. For *theoxenia* in general, see Deneken 1881; *RE* v A ii. 1934, cols. 2256–2258, s.v. Theoxenia (F. Pfister); Burkert 1985, pp. 107, 213; Bruit 1989; see also Jameson 1994, pp. 53–55, for reservations about views that *theoxenia* originated in meals for the dead or was narrowly applied to a particular class of supernatural beings.

82 See above Chapter Two, pp. 154–157 and footnotes 264, 272–275. For another possible allusion to festival expenses, see Papazarkadas's (2011, p. 30 and n. 68) thought that the amalgamation of the boards of the Treasurers of Athena and of the Other Gods ca. 340 BC and the contemporary spate of leases of sacred lands may have been aimed to support financially or otherwise the Great Panathenaia of 342/1.

83 For attention to finance in Greek cult sanctuaries, see Isabelle Pafford 2013.

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We may take again as a paradigm the third-century Itonia of the Arkesineans for which Kleophantos served as archon. His gift of 2,500 drachmas for the fees (συμβολαί)[84] for 700 attendants to dine for six days (ἑστιάσας λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἡμέρας ἕξ) amounts to a subsidy of about 3 drachmas and 4 obols per banqueter for the length of the festival, or a little more than three and a half obols per day.[85] If these hundreds of festival banqueters ate meat at all of the meals, and all the meat came from the sacrifice, then the budget for sacrificial victims was very large. Since the Itonia inscriptions do not indicate the total number or type of sacrificial victims, nor, as do some *leges sacrae*, the cost of victims of various types,[86] assigning a figure to that budget could only be rough guessing. As noted above, three oxen may not have been the full complement of animals sacrificed for one Itonia,[87] and where we do have monetary figures, as in the contributions by archons of 500 drachmas for the sacrifice, there may have been added funding of unknown amounts from the *polis*.[88] From an Itonian festival of Minoa, we have an example of the cult income called πελανός, the monetary fees or donations that were routinely made

84 See *RE* IV A 1, 1931, col. 1090, s.v. συμβολή 2) (W. Müri).

85 *IG* XII 7. 22. Salomon Reinach (1884, p. 453) calculated from this inscription that a day's sustenance for one person was about 3/5 dr. or three and a half obols, noting that Boeckh's (1851, vol. 1, pp. 142; cf. 1886. Vol. 1, p. 157) figures for daily meals in other sources seem deficient. Dittenberger (*Syll.*[3] 1045 n. 4) observed that the figures from the Itonia match up well with what is known from other sources concerning daily food consumption. See also the case of the Itonia of the second century in which Kleophantos' descendant, Agathinos, subsidized 500 diners for six days, though the total cost is missing from the inscription (*IG* XII Suppl. 330). It is a guessing game to translate these amounts into contemporary monetary value, but the daily wage of one drachma in the fifth- century Athenian building accounts might serve as a rough calculus. For what it is worth, Reinach (p. 453) figured the Itonia sustenance as the equivalent of 54 centimes per day in French coin of 1884.

86 Cf. Papazarkadas 2011, pp. 94–96, for the sources of funding for sacrificial animals at Athens, including the calculation from *IG* I[3] 375 (410/9 BC) that the median price of an ox was 51.14 drachmas. Since this was about the time when the Acropolis building accounts show a drachma as the average daily wage, we have a good idea of the costliness of such sacrifices. See also above, pp. 169–170 with footnotes 12–13, the reference to Lambert 2002, pp. 396–397, for the pricing of sacrificial animals in his study of an Athenian calendar of sacrifices, part of the "Law Code of Nicomachus" (410/9–405/4 and 400–399 BC). In addition to the cost of victims, animal sacrifice usually involved other expenses, such as firewood, wine, honey, grain, and the honoraria or wages of priests, butchers, and other operatives. For the various expenses of the whole process of sacrifice, see Sokolowski 1954; Burkert 1985, pp. 95–97; Rosivach 1994, pp. 68–142.

87 See above, pp. 226–227 and footnote 79.

88 *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 16–18: καὶ παρ' αὑτοῦ ἀνάλωσεν εἰς τὰ / ἱερεῖα πρὸς τῶι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔλαβε δρα/χμὰς πεντακοσίας. See also *IG* XII 7. 24, lines 8–13; *IG* XII Suppl. 330. Nigdelis 1990, p. 45 and n. 128.

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by those who frequented the sanctuary,[89] and the additional income in the interest earned from investment of the *pelanos*. These funds were the property of the cult deity and were customarily used only for sacred purposes. We read in the decree of the *hierourgoi* of Athena Itonia honoring Epinomides (*IG* XII 7.241) that his gift of at least 1000 drachmas for the sacrificed ox and the subsidy of at least 550 celebrants at the Itonia of Minoa was so generous that the interest of the *pelanos*, which was at his disposal and had formerly been used to fund sacrifices, he was able to give back to Athena's priestly order, the *koinon* of the *hierourgoi*, for the furnishing of her *temenos*.[90]

A final matter of finance, which was not a direct part of the budget of the festival of Athena Itonia, but was a consequence of the generous subsidy of the festival by archon/benefactors, was the potential cost of executing the honors mandated by the Itonia decrees. The bestowal of most of these honors would have entailed little or no special expense, because they were incorporated in ceremonies and events that had their own finances and that would have taken place with or without the occasion of these honors. For example, the repeated proclaiming, praising, and crowning of the honorand with a wreath of olive shoots at future processions of the Itonia, before all competitions put on by the city, and at other religious festivals should have entailed little or no expense, nor, the forfeiture of entry fees notwithstanding, should the present and future grants of προεδρία at public events for the honorand and his family and descendants. A usual part of the honors that was, however, not without cost was permanent publication of the decrees on stone stelai. Although the decrees do not specify these cost, we know from other times and places where monetary

89 Πελανός: *RE* XIX 1 (1938), col. 250, s.v. πελανός, (L. Ziehen); see also Stengel 1894; Stengel 1910, pp. 66–72. In its original sense, πελανός designated a select portion of grain given to a god, which was mixed with honey, milk, or wine to make a sacrificial gruel or baked into cakes (Harpokration, s.v., πέλανος : πέμματά τινα τοῖς θεοῖς γινόμενα ἐκ τοῦ ἀφαιρεθέντος σίτου ἐκ τῆς ἅλω), but, as cult sanctuaries began to sell some of the donated grain for cash, the term by extension came to refer to monetary offerings or fees of the cult faithful.

90 *IG* XII 7. 241, especially lines 9–13: τοὺς μὲν / τόκους τοὺς γινομένους αὐτῶι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρ-/χοντος πελάνου τῆι θεῶι, ἀφ' ὧμ πρότερον ἡ θυ-/σία συνετελεῖτο, ἐπιδοὺς τῶι κοινῶι τῶν ἱερουρ-/γῶν εἰς κατασκευὴν τοῦ τεμένους. On this case of *pelanos*, see the further commentary of Delamarre (1896, pp. 75–76); see also Stengel 1894, p. 283; Nilsson 1906, p. 90 and n. 2. See lately, Pafford 2013, pp. 60–61. Apropos of the use of the interest of the *pelanos* for furnishing of the Itonian sanctuary, see Ludwig Meier 2013 on the use of sacred money for construction. The form of the *pelanos* in the honorific decree of Minoa for Epinomides is not specified, but it was probably either coined money or other offerings that the *hierourgoi* could sell for coin. Cf. another inscription from Minoa, regarding the cult of the Mother (*IG* XII 7. 237, lines 21–24), in which the stipulated *pelanos* is one drachma per person. See Pafford 2013, passim, on the use of stone treasure-boxes (θησαυροί) at sanctuaries for the collection of coins as fees and offerings.

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figures are given, that quarrying the stone, crafting the stelai, drafting copies of the text, cutting it on the stone, and erecting the stele in a public place was an expensive process.[91] Another honor that would entail some cost to the sources of funding of the Itonia was the exemption of the honorand and, in some cases, his wife, offspring, and other descendants, from the payment of *symbolai* in all subsequent celebrations of the festival.[92]

7 Honors for the Archons for the Itonia

Although there are some variations in the types and numbers of the honors decreed for archon/benefactors for the Amorgian Itonia, for the most part they show a degree of sameness that reflects an adherence to custom if not law, which was made explicit, as noted earlier, in the decree regarding the Itonia of the *polis* of Minoa, whereby Epinomides was to be crowned with a garland of olive sprigs ([κα]τὰ τὸν νόμον).[93] The ceremony of crowning and its accompanying proclamation is common to most of the decrees of honors, though there is some variety in the occasions at which it took place. The crowns were usually to be bestowed in the agora before current and future processions to the Itonia, but some honorees were crowned in a *synodos* of the Itonia,[94] and some are to be crowned also at events separate from those of the Itonia, for example, by the *agonothetai* before all the games that the city puts on, or at the Dionysia (?), after the boys' choruses.[95] The honor of exemption from the payment of all fees (*symbolai*) at the Itonia is often extended to various members of the honorand's family, and in some cases it is said to remain in effect

91 For the cost of inscribed decrees in fourth-century Athens, ranging from ten to fifty drachmas, see Lalonde 1971, pp. 67–75, 257–274; Nolan 1981. For an inscription on stone in early 3rd-century Delos (see *IG* XI 199C, lines 66 ff.) the cutter receives about a drachma per 300 letters. See below, pp. 242–243 and footnotes 133–135, for funding of such publications as a further benefaction of wealthy Amorgians.

92 See, e.g., *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 27–29; *IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 35–37; *IG* XII 7. 229, lines 6–8.

93 *IG* XII 7. 241, line 28 (Minoa; 3rd. c. BC). In all of the Itonia decrees where wording of the material of the crown of honor survives, it is simply θαλλός, a small branch, shoot, or sprig that would be circled into a wreath. Since phrases like ἐλαίης θαλλός are common in other texts, and the olive was a staple of the agriculture of Amorgos, I follow the liberty of other translators in referring to these crowns as made of olive shoots. Since the donors to the Itonia were wealthy, the honor of the crown was not in its material value but in its ceremonial bestowal. Such simple crowns would make further economic sense in the cases of those who are to receive the honor repeatedly.

94 For the meaning of σύνοδος τῶν Ἰτωνίων, see below, p. 251 and footnote 166.

95 Arkesine: *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 23–26; *IG* XII 7. 24, lines 18–23; *IG* XII Suppl. 330, line 34.

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in the future, even, according to one restored phrase, for all time.[96] A similarly common honor that was at times extended to family members, and sometimes for the long term, was *proedria*, the privilege of preferential seating at public events, including, for example, the games that the *polis* puts on, and the performances of the choruses of boys at the tragedies of the Apollonia.[97] *Proedria* was an honor of double effect, in that its recipients had an excellent view of the public events and, more importantly, to judge from the nature of the other honors, they were singled out by pride of place before the rest of the audience.

Not to be overlooked as honors to benefactor/archons of the Itonia are the costly inscribing on stone and public display of the decree of honors.[98] Like the repetition year after year of such honors as proclamations, crownings, *proedria*, and *atelia* of the fees for various public events, the decreed honors are in effect reiterated every time that a person reads them inscribed and exhibited on a stone stele. In the few inscriptions where the provisions for publication are extant, it is not surprising that the most common public places for the display of these inscriptions were the agora of the *poleis* or the Itonian sanctuary, or both, for these were heavily frequented locations, and both were involved in the ceremonies of the festival of Athena Itonia. An Itonia decree of Minoa from the second or first century BC has an interesting variation in the provisions for location of the inscribed honors.[99] No secretary is mentioned, but, in addition to the inscription in the *hieron* of Athena Itonia, Lanikos, probably the honored archon for the Itonia, is given the privilege of choosing the second place of publication in the *polis*, doubtless a location that he expects will bring him optimal honor among his fellow citizens.[100] According to the restoration of this inscription in the *Corpus*, the archon is the one charged with seeing that the decree is copied and with handing it over to the person chosen to inscribe

96 E.g., *IG* XII 7. 229 (Minoa; 2nd or 1st c. BC), lines 6–8: εἶ]-/[ναι] δὲ αὐτῷ [κα]ὶ ἐγγόνοις εἰς τὸν ἀ[εὶ χρόνον] / [ἀτ]έ[λ]ειαν κατὰ τὸ‹ν› νόμον [κ]αὶ τοῖ[ς Ἰτωνίοις(?)]. A reason for extending honors to family members and descendants would be that the archonship was only held by a single donor but that the donated wealth belonged to the extended family and its estate. Such extended honors would also be an incentive for other donations.

97 Arkesine: *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 29–30; *IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 37–39.

98 For the cost of inscriptions as a matter of festival finance, see above, pp. 229–230, and footnote 91.

99 *IG* XII 7. 229.

100 Lanikos' choice of the topos for the stele is an unusual honor in itself, for the provisions for the publication of Greek decrees in general show that the placement of inscribed stelai in public domains was closely controlled by the state; for the official practice in Athens, see Lalonde 1971, pp. 3–12. For a case analogous to that of Lanikos, see *IG* XII 7. 388, a decree of Minoa honoring Kritolaos of Aigiale (lines 32–40) and including the provision that the Minoans send a copy of the decree to Aigiale and ask the Aigialeans to inscribe the decree on a stele and erect it wherever Kritolaos wishes.

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it (lines 14–17: [ὁ δὲ] / [ἄρχων προνοηθή]τω ὅπως ἀναγραφ[ῇ τὸ ψή]-/[φισμα] καὶ παραδότω τῷ αἱρεθέντι [ἀναγρά]-/[ψαι]·) If Lanikos was being honored as the archon of the Itonia, then the restoration of the title *archon* in line 15 may be questionable, unless this is not the archon for the Itonia. We would not normally expect the honorand to be charged with this duty, but this may be an exceptional case, since Lanikos was to choose the location of the second stele.

A primary question in the topic of honors for the benefactors to the Amorgian festivals of Athena Itonia is the motivation for their benefactions—in Aristotelian terms, not the material or formal causes (wealth and its purchases), but the final cause (purpose) of this great generosity. *IG* XII 7. 241 (Minoa; 3rd. c. BC) honoring Epinomides, son of Theogenos, gives a clear statement of a superior motive that all of the benefactors to the Itonia might have given, if asked: "to preserve good repute toward the *demos* and reverence toward the gods" (κρίνων τοῦτο μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον / εἶναι, διαφυλάσσειν τήν τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὖνο[ι]/αν καὶ τὴμ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν).[101] Without gainsaying the sincerity of these reasons, it is also clear from the provisions for such honors that the benefactions are predicated in large part on continuing public recognition of the donor and to some extent of his family—continuing *proedria* and crowning ceremonies, not only at the Itonia but also at otherwise unrelated public events, and the enduring reminder of the benefactions and honors in their long-term exhibition on inscribed stelai set up in public locations. The force of such honors as motivation is evident in that they are omnipresent in these decrees, and, at least in the case of Epinomides, the honor of a crown is said to be a matter of custom, if not law.[102] Just as the heroism of epic warriors was motivated by the *kleos* that would outlive them in the song of poets, so the great generosity of these archons for the Itonia is rooted to some degree in the honors repeated in undefined time. For the *poleis* of Arkesine and Minoa the bestowal of these honors had a reciprocal motive of long term, namely, that such beneficence to the festival of Athena would be repeated in the future, either by the same family, a goal that was clearly realized for the Arkesineans in the case of Kleophantos and his descendants, or by new donors. The superior motive of devotion to the *polis* and its cult and festival of course begs a further question: Why such generosity to this particular goddess? A possible answer

101 *IG* XII 7. 241, lines 21–23. The number of statements in the Itonia decrees that the donor/archon has benefitted the *demos* as well as Athena Itonia probably bespeak not only the fact that the *polis* and its people are relieved of expenses for the festival but also the belief that they are beneficiaries of any divine reciprocity.

102 *IG* XII 7. 241, lines 27–28: καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνω[ι / κα]τὰ τὸν νόμον. On the probable meaning of this νόμος, see above, p. 222, footnote 55.

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to this question will be considered below in a discussion of the character of Athena Itonia on Amorgos.

8 Itonian Sanctuary and Festival: Were They Shared by Arkesine and Minoa?

Because of the limited and adjacent territories of the *poleis* of Arkesine and Minoa, the relatively short distance between their *astê*, and the similarity of some activities noted in their respective decrees of honor for wealthy patrons of the Itonia, scholars have naturally raised the following two separable questions: Did Arkesine and Minoa share a single sanctuary of Athena Itonia? Did they have a common celebration of the Itonia? Since those who have dealt with these two questions have been non-committal or have suggested or asserted answers with little or no argument,[103] there is good reason for a more extensive treatment of these topics here. A primary difficulty in such an investigation is the poor state of the archaeological remains of the *poleis* of Arkesine and Minoa.[104] From the references to ἴερον and τέμενος in the Itonia decrees of both cities, there is no doubt that there was at least one Itoneion on the island,

103 E.g., *IG* XII 7. 241 (Minoa; 3rd. c. BC), commentary of Delamarre: "Fanum idem fuisse potest, inter duo oppida situm; feriae communes, quas οἱ ἰόντες εἰς Ἰτώνια (Μινοητῶν καὶ Ἀρκεσινέων) simul celebrant (Hiller)." The phrase Μινοητῶν καὶ Ἀρκεσινέων is Delamarre's own collocation. Cf. Delamarre 1896, p. 75, for the comment, "Nous apprenons d'abord que le sanctuaire d'Athéna Itonia se trouvait à Minoa," which could be right if he is referring only to the sanctuary of Athena Itonia concerned in the decree of Minoa at issue, i.e., *IG* XII 7. 241. *Syll.*[3] 1046 n. 3: "… Neque feriae utrobique eaedem significantur, nam illae [*Syll.*[3] 1045] Arcesinensium, hae Minoëtarum sunt. Dttb. Num Minervae fanum utrique urbi commune fuerit, ambiguum est. Hi. Ap. Del." Nigdelis 1990, p. 45: "Μία σειρά Ψηφίσματα που συντάσσονται προς τιμή αρχόντων των Ιτωνίων, κοινής εορτής στην Αρκεσίνη και τη Μινώα." Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 340: "Τὸ σημαντικὸ ἱερὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰτωνίας, ποὺ ἀναφέρεται σὲ πολλὲς ἐπιγραφὲς τῆς Ἀρκεσίνης καὶ σὲ εὐάριθμες τῆς Μινώας, δὲν ἔχει ἀκόμα ἐντοπιστεῖ μὲ ἀπόλυτη βεβαιότητα. Ὅπως συνάγεται ἀπὸ τὰ τιμητικὰ Ψηφίσματα γιὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἰτωνίων, ἑορτὴ κοινὴ καὶ γιὰ τὶς δύο πόλεις, τὸ ἱερὸ βρίσκεται μακρὰν τῶν πόλεων." See also Lagos 2009, p. 88 n. 36, and Nigdelis 1990, p. 32 n. 77, for notices that Chrysoula Veligianni-Terzi (1977, p. 116) suggested that the sanctuary and the festival belonged to Arkesine. Nigdelis (loc.cit) countered that the Itonian sanctuary was between the two cities. Lagos (2009, p. 88) vouched not only for a single sanctuary between Arkesine and Minoa but also for their common celebration of the festival of Athena Itonia in a federal cult of the two *poleis*.

104 In general, the ancient stone structures of Amorgos have suffered later quarrying for dry-stone walls and buildings, and the loss of scholarly and material product of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century discoveries, because of deficient excavation, record-keeping, and publication, as well as insecure storage, has handicapped modern scholarship. See

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but to this date neither a site nor any substantial structural material of such a sanctuary has been verified, though a general location in the *polis* of Arkesine, southeast of its *asty*, and on the road between that city and Minoa, has been inferred from the evidence of the Itonia inscriptions, topography of the two poleis, and some surface finds.[105] As a consequence, the evidence of the Itonia decrees and reasonable inferences therefrom are the best resources in trying to answer the aforementioned two questions, even though such answers were not a primary purpose of these decrees.

First, what do we learn of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia from the decrees of honor for its donors? The venue of the Itonian festival with its rituals of sacrifice is always referred to either as a *hieron* or a *temenos*, but there is no reference to a *naos*, a temple.[106] The purpose of a temple was usually to house a cult statue, and, while a cult of the importance of Athena Itonia on Amorgos may well have had such a statue, its existence and the temple that housed it were apparently not relevant information in the extant inscriptions of honors for the archons of the Itonia. If the large sums of money involved in the Itonian festival and the *pelanos* and its interest, as noted in the Minoan decree for Epinomides, were kept at the sanctuary rather than in the respective *astê*, then the *temenos* would have had at least a secure building, perhaps a treasury or a temple that also served as a treasury. We know that an Itonian sanctuary was a specific and permanent domain because of the provisions in decrees of Arkesine and Minoa that stelai with the inscribed text of those decrees were to be erected there.[107] When we consider the great devotion to the Itonian festival indicated by the archon/benefactors and their honors, it is somewhat surprising that there has come to light not a single dedication to the goddess securely identified by inscription on stone. Many such artifacts, of course, may have ended up in the lime kilns or lie still immured in later structures or buried

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Marangou 1981, pp. 304–306, passim, for these problems and their effect in the context of her excavations of Minoa; also Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 33.

105 See Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 340, regarding the Itoneion: "Ο ἐντοπισμὸς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ στὸ μεσόστρατο, στὸν δρόμο μεταξὺ τῶν δύο πόλεων, στὴν χώραν τῆς Ἀρκεσίνης, νοτιοανατολικὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ὁμώνυμη ἀρχαία πόλη, ἂν καὶδὲν ἔχει ἀκόμα τεκμηριωθεῖ ἀνασκαφικά, στηρίζεται σὲ σοβαρὲς τοπογραφικὲς καὶ ἐπιφανειακὲς ἐνδείξεις." This last "serious topographic and surface evidence" is not detailed. See also Marangou 1980b, pp. 193–194, for the discovery by the chapel of Agia Eirene, near the area of Λεύκες, between the *astê* of Arkesine and Minoa, of evidence of a *hieron*, but with no clear indication of the Itoneion. Lagos 2009, p. 82: "archaeologists have yet to locate and excavate the sanctuary."

106 *Hieron: IG* XII 7. 23, line 5 (Arkesine); 229, line 13 (Minoa); *temenos*: *IG* XII 7. 241, line 13 (Minoa). On the possible distinctions of *hieron, temenos*, and *naos*, see above, p. 63 with footnote 222.

107 Arkesine: *IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 49–50 (highly restored); Minoa: *IG* XII 7. 229, lines 12–13.

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in the yet unexcavated areas in these parts of the island. The many epigraphic references to the festival's animal sacrifices tell us that an Itonian *temenos* had an altar, and, to judge from the great numbers of celebrants and depending on the number and frequency of sacrifices during the six days of a festival, probably a very large altar or multiple altars. The size of an Amorgian sanctuary of Athena Itonia is also a matter of speculation. It is conceivable that some of the 700 hundred celebrants who went to the Itonia from Arkesine could witness the sacrifices from outside the boundary of the sacred domain, but if so many celebrants were within it, then the sanctuary was indeed large. An Itoneion need not have had a peribolos wall, but a developed sanctuary of the sort indicated in the decrees of Arkesine and Minoa would normally have had the limits of its sacred ground marked with horoi, possibly with identifying inscriptions, though none have been found.[108] The festival banquets would require even more room than the sacrificial rites, but they probably took place apart from the sanctuary.[109]

A discussion of the question of a single Itonian sanctuary shared by the Arkesineans and Minoans must consider also the location of an Itoneion from the evidence in the honorific decrees for the archons and from the topography of the two *poleis*. From the inscriptions of both cities we have clear evidence that those going to the Itonia were marshaled in the agora of their *polis* and went from there in procession to the sanctuary of Athena. While we may assume that the agoras of Arkesine and Minoa were within their respective *astê*, we know from the ritual of procession that the intended sanctuary was clearly some distance away and possibly apart from the *asty*. If we return to the facts that this scenario of the procession is true of both Arkesine and Minoa, that the city centers of the two *poleis* were only about five kilometers distant from one another, and that other details of the Itonia decrees indicate very similar attention to the festival by the two cities, the opinion of Lila Marangou and others, that Arkesine and Minoa shared a single sanctuary that was located somewhere in the open country between their two *astê* is an economical and plausible hypothesis.[110] But it is not a hypothesis proved beyond reasonable

108 That the Amorgians were well versed in the use of inscribed horoi is evident in the examples published by Radet and Paris (1891, p. 596, no. 19 ["of Zeus Soter"] found in the area of Arkesine; p. 597, no. 22 ["of Dionysos"] found at Kalophana in the chapel of Pouloudena, and no. 24 ["of Apollo Prophylax"] from near Aigiale). Cf. also inscribed mortgage horoi from Arkesine: *IG* XII 7. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60; *IG* XII Suppl. 331.

109 See above, pp. 226–227, and footnotes 78–81, on the ritual of festival dining.

110 See again Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 340 (quoted above, p. 234, footnote 105); Lagos 2009, p. 88. For parallels of extra-urban Itonian sanctuaries, see above, Chapter One, pp. 81–84, for the attested sanctuary between Larisa and Pherai in Thessalian Pelasgiotis,

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doubt, for there is no discovered sanctuary and in no extant Itonia decree is there a single reference of the kind we might expect if there were a shared sanctuary of Athena; for example, κοινὸν ἱερόν / τέμενος, or ἱερὸν τῶν Ἀρκεσινέων και τῶν Μεινωητῶν.

The second question, whether the Arkesineans and Minoans celebrated the Itonia in common, also requires considerable attention, but it must be considered on its own evidence and with certain presuppositions or agreed terms. Since it is not certain that there was one common sanctuary of Athena Itonia, and since we know little about the sacred calendars of the Amorgian *poleis* as they related to her festival,[111] the question of a common Itonia must be clearly framed. It is conceivable that Arkesine and Minoa could share a single sanctuary of the goddess but celebrate her festival at different times, and it is equally conceivable that each *polis* could have its own Itonian sanctuary and both celebrate the Itonia at the same time. Less conceivable is a shared sanctuary where Arkesine and Minoa celebrate the Itonia at the same time but somehow independently. None of those scenarios is what is meant by a common festival in this discussion or in earlier scholarship of my reading, and therefore none of them is argued here. In short, the premise of the present discussion is that a common Itonia of Arkesine and Minoa means a festival that is con-celebrated by the two *poleis* in the same sanctuary and at the same time.[112]

As in the question of the shared sanctuary, the burden of argument about a common Itonian festival of Arkesine and Minoa falls on the only real evidence

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and for the Itoneion near modern Philia in Thessaly, which was not near an ancient city center, but, according to the hypothesis of Bruno Helly (loc. cit.), may have been shared by a number of towns in the region. Note also Chapter Two, pp. 105–106, for the fact that the chief Itonian sanctuary of the Boiotians was in the plain before the city of Koroneia, and Chapter Three, p. 182, for the argument that the Itoneion at Athens was arguably outside the city walls.

111 Although a number of months are known from the calendars of Arkesine and Minoa (Loukopoulou 1989, pp. 116–119 and Table II; Trümpy 1997, pp. 73–77; see also above, pp. 207–208, footnote 5) a month Itonios is not among them, and there is no evidence in the Itonia decrees of either *polis* to indicate when the Itonia were celebrated.

112 This definition of "shared festival" is precise enough to preclude the ambiguity of terms such as κοινόν, which are not from the Itonia inscriptions but from modern scholarship on the questions of a shared sanctuary and a common festival. Since a sanctuary is a specific and unique topos, if the Arkesineans and the Minoans were said to have a κοινὸν ἱερόν, this would mean unambiguously that the two *poleis* shared a single sanctuary. A festival, however, is not inherently specific, and, therefore, saying that the Arkesineans and the Minoans celebrated κοινὴ ἑορτή (particularly without the definite article ἡ; see, e.g., Nigdelis 1990, p. 45, "… τιμή αρχόντων των Ιτωνίων, κοινής εορτής στην Αρκεσίνη και τη Μινώα"), could mean any of the things noted above, among them, simply that Arkesine and Minoa each celebrated the Itonia.

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available to us, that is, the inscribed decrees of honors for the festival archons. If we knew only that both the Arkesineans and the Minoans had a goddess Athena Itonia and a festival called the Itonia, and that they gave similar honors to wealthy individuals for similar benefactions to the Itonia, we might reasonably speculate that the two *poleis* had a common festival of Athena Itonia. Nevertheless, when we look at the details of the respective Itonia decrees of the two *poleis*, we see a good deal of evidence, both general and specific, to suggest that Arkesine and Minoa, while having very similar devotion to Athena Itonia, had little or nothing to do with one another with regard to her festival. While it must be admitted that we have much more evidence from Arkesine than from Minoa, if the two *poleis* celebrated the Itonia in common, we might expect at least some cross-reference between the two sets of decrees. Nevertheless, the respective inscribed records of the Itonia by the Arkesineans and Minoans are in many ways remarkably independent of one another. For example, none of the Itonia decrees of Arkesine or Minoa ever refers to the other *polis* or its citizens by name. Similarly with regard to proper names, be they of the honored archons or of the various other officials, there is not a single duplication between the extant Arkesinean and Minoan text about the Itonia.[113] The same can be said of some of the titles of officials, such as the *demiorgos* and the *hierourgoi*, which are apparently peculiar to the officialdom of Minoa and its Itonian cult and festival. The "archon for the Itonia" is always a single official, never collaborating with another archon, and the invitations of citizens and aliens to the Itonia in the Arkesinean decrees refer specifically to the residents of Arkesine. Whenever the decrees note that the honorand's benefactions extend beyond the Itonia, to the *dêmos* or *polis*, or, in the case of Minoa, the *koinon* of the *hierourgoi*, it is always clear, explicitly or implicitly, that the reference is to the institutions of the decreeing city alone.[114] Since the

113 Beyond the Itonia, there was, however, obviously intercourse between the two adjacent *poleis*. E.g. one Agathinos of Arkesine is awarded a gold crown by the Samians of Minoa; Ross 1834, no. 128; Radet and Paris 1891, p. 591. See above, pp. 243–244 and footnote 138, on the appearance of Agathinos' name in inscriptions of Minoa and Aigiale in the Roman imperial age.

114 E.g., *dêmos* of the Arkesineans: *IG* XII 7. 24, lines 17–18; 33, lines 4–7; *IG* XII Suppl. 330, line 32. *Dêmos* of the Minoans: *IG* XII 7. 241, lines 22–23. *Koinon* of the *hierourgoi* (Minoa): *IG* XII 7. 241, lines 26–27; these last officials are called specifically τοῖς ἱερουργοῖς / τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰτωνίας (lines 3–4) and τοῖς ἱερουργοῖς / τῆς θεοῦ (line 24). Since there is no analogous expression in the Itonia decrees of Arkesine, it is a fair assumption that the priestly college of *hierourgoi* belonged exclusively to the Itonian cult and festival of the Minoans. Nevertheless, while the Minoan *hierourgoi* (*IG* XII 7. 241) used the interest earned from the *pelanos* for the equipping of the sanctuary of Athena, it is not precluded that this was a sanctuary shared with the Arkesineans.

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koinon of the *hierourgoi* was a priesthood devoted to the cult of Athena Itonia, if the Itonia were conducted in common, we might expect some reference to the *hierourgoi* in the more extensive inscriptional texts of Arkesine on the festival. In sum, none of the extant Itonia decrees has any reference to inter-*polis* benefactions with regard to the Arkesinean and Minoan celebrations of the festival. Finally, and most cogently, such expressions as τὰ κοινὰ Ἰτώνια or τὰ Ἰτώνια τῶν Ἀρκεσινέων καί τῶν Μεινωητῶν appear in none of the decrees, but in *IG* XII 7. 24, lines 1–2 refer specifically to "the Itonia of the Arkesineans" (ε]ἰς τὰ Ἰτ[ώ]ν[ια] / Ἀρκεσινέων·), where the minor restorations are certainly correct.[115] In view of the preceding evidence and argument, it seems fair to end with the concession that there is no explicit evidence that the cities of Arkesine and Minoa celebrated the festival of Athena Itonia separately, but the preponderance of implicit evidence points to the conclusion that each *polis* had its own festival. While these decrees reflect the independence of Arkesine and Minoa in their attention to the festival of Athena, in each case their frequent linking of cult and *dêmos* reemphasizes what we learned from the invitation of all residents to the festival of each, namely that the goddess, the cult, and the festival were in each case the focus of no less than the entire *polis*.

9 Facilities Related to the Itonian Festival

The Arkesinean and Minoan decrees of honors for the donor/archons of the festival of Athena Itonia are explicit or implicit about a variety of facilities that were necessary for the operations of the Itonia and the accomplishment of the decreed honors, although there is little clear identification of these structures among the archaeological discoveries in the territories of the two *poleis*.[116] We have already referred to properties of an Itonian sanctuary inferred from the

115 See also *IG* XII 7. 25, lines 2–3, where the same wording is more extensively restored.

116 For the period of the Itonia decrees (early-third to early-first centuries BC), Lila Marangou has noted (2002–2005, vol. 1, pp. 41–48) that the area of the *asty* of Arkesine has yielded little in the way of illuminating architectural structures, though there is considerable archaeological heritage in inscriptions, coins, and other small finds. In her extensive study of the *asty* of Minoa, Marangou (2002–2005, vol. 1, pp. 135, 225–238) identified a large stone structure, previously thought to be part of the city wall, as the city's gymnasium, a conclusion bolstered by excavation of an adjacent latrine. Marangou (2002–2005, vol. 1, pp. 238–240) also notes a number of facilities mentioned in inscriptions of Minoa other than Itonia decrees, and presumes that these structures were once part of the *asty*, though, other than the Gymnasium, none has been specifically identified in the ruins. These epigraphically attested or implied structures of Minoa will be cited along with those of Arkesine in the footnotes of this section.

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decrees, and to the agoras in the *astê* of Arkesine and Minoa,[117] where the archons marshaled the festival celebrants and invited them to proceed to the sanctuary. The decrees of Arkesine imply the existence within or near the agora of the meeting places (*bouleuterion* and assembly-place of the *dêmos*)[118] of those who promulgate the honorific decrees. The agora was also a place where stelai inscribed with the Itonia decrees were erected, and in the agora or nearby was the likely location of the archives of the *dêmos* (τὰ δημόσια γράμματα or τὸ ἀρχεῖον), where copies of some Itonia decrees were ordered to be deposited.[119] Since the Minoan *hierourgoi*, who approved the honors for Epinomides, were said to be τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰτωνίας and τῆς θεοῦ, it is probable that this priestly *koinon* had its own meeting-place, perhaps in or near the Minoan sanctuary of Athena, for which on at least one occasion they had the responsibility of κατασκευή.[120]

The Itonia decrees call for honors of crowning and *proedria* not only at a *synodos* of the festival, which could refer to any assemblage of the celebrants, in the agora, at the sacrificial rites in the *temenos* of Athena, or the place of festival banqueting, but also at a number of events that indicate other facilities. Some decrees mandate that the honored archon for the Itonia be crowned on such occasions as the artistic and athletic contests that the *polis* puts on, and that the honorand and his family or descendants are to have *proedria* at such events.[121] In the Arkesinean decree of honors for the benefactions of Agathinos, we read that he put up prizes for various athletic contests for boys and men.[122] At the sites of many Greek festivals we are familiar with the remains of permanent stone structures for competitive events, usually theaters and music halls in the case of artistic events, and stadiums, gymnasiums, and palaestras for athletic contests. In addition to the gymnasium identified in the excavation of

117 For reference to the agora of Arkesine, see *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 8, 34; 23, line 6. For the undiscovered agora of Minoa, see Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 239 and n. 553: *IG* XII 7. 241, line 18.

118 Notices of the *boulê* in the Itonia decrees of Arkesine: *IG* XII 7. 22; 32; 33; XII Suppl. 330. Bouleuterion of Minoa: Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 239 and n. 555 ("Τὸ *Βουλευτήριον ἀναφέρεται μαζὶ μὲ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου, ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τόποις* [the last phrase refers not to the locations of the bouleuterion and the shrine of Dionysos, but is part of the mandate that the decree is to be inscribed in the most conspicuous locations at those sites]."); see *IG* XII 7. 228, lines 16–18.

119 Arkesine: *IG* XII 7. 32, line 10; *IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 47–48. For an archive of Minoa, see Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 239 and n. 554: *IG* XII 7. 240, line 33.

120 *IG* XII 7. 241, lines 3–4, 24.

121 See, e.g., *IG* XII 7. 22, lines 29–34; 24, lines 19–23; XII Suppl. 330, lines 37, 39–41.

122 *IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 24–26; see above, p. 224, for a listing of these athletic events.

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Minoa,[123] there must have been for both *poleis* at least one permanent stadium and a palaestra, or at least some flat open ground to accommodate the events and some bleachers or an adjacent hillside where spectators could sit. In the realm of artistic events, an unknown honorand of Arkesine was to be crowned by the *prytaneis* every year in the month of Taureon at the festival of Dionysos, when the choruses of boys took place.[124] Similarly Agathinos and his descendants were to have *proedria* at the tragedies of the festival of Apollo, when the choruses of boys performed,[125] as well as at all the other competitions that the *polis* of Arkesine produced. These honors imply the existence of one or more theatral venues, even though these structures have so far not been identified among the remains of Arkesine and Minoa.[126]

10 Prosopography and Wealth of Archons for the Itonia

Whether or not the ἀρχὴ εἰς Ἰτώνια in the Amorgian *poleis* of Arkesine or Minoa was a magistracy granted only to very wealthy individuals who were willing to pay most of the expenses for the festival of Athena Itonia, those individuals are the only such office-holders we know of from the fragmentary epigraphic record of their generosity and honors. As noted above, evidence of the rarity of individuals with such wealth and commitment to the Itonian festival on Amorgos is one known recurrence of this magistracy among persons of the same family over a period of more than a century. Earlier scholars have paid attention to the prosopography of this family, but as part of this comprehensive study of the Itonian cult on Amorgos, it will be worthwhile to review that topic and to consider the question of the possible source of the extraordinary wealth of such benefactor/magistrates and their families.

123 See above, p. 238 and footnote 116.

124 *IG* XII 7. 32, lines 1–4. The festival implies an Arkesinean sanctuary of Dionysos. Such a shrine is also attested for the *polis* of Minoa; see Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 239 and n. 560: *IG* XII 7. 228, line 17 (*τὸ Ἱερόν*); 231, lines 35–36; 247, line 1.

125 *IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 37–39 (largely restored). In regard to the *polis* of Minoa, see Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, p. 239 and n. 557 for epigraphic evidence of a temple of Apollo (*IG* XII 7. 220 [ΑΣΚ, find no. ΣΕΙ 65]; 238 [lost]); n. 558 for evidence of a shrine of Apollo Delios (restored) (*IG* XII 7. 221–226); n. 559 for a shrine of Apollo Pythios (*IG* XII 7. 246 [lost]).

126 For epigraphic evidence of a yet undiscovered theater or theatral area in the *polis* of Minoa, see Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, pp. 238–239 and n. 551: *IG* XII 7. 221b, line 16; 228, line 8; 237, line 42. Cf. *RE* XXX, 1932, col. 1858, s.v. Minoa 7) (K. Fiehn): "Am Abhang des Hügels sind noch die Reste des Theaters." Fiehn does not specify the nature of the claimed remains.

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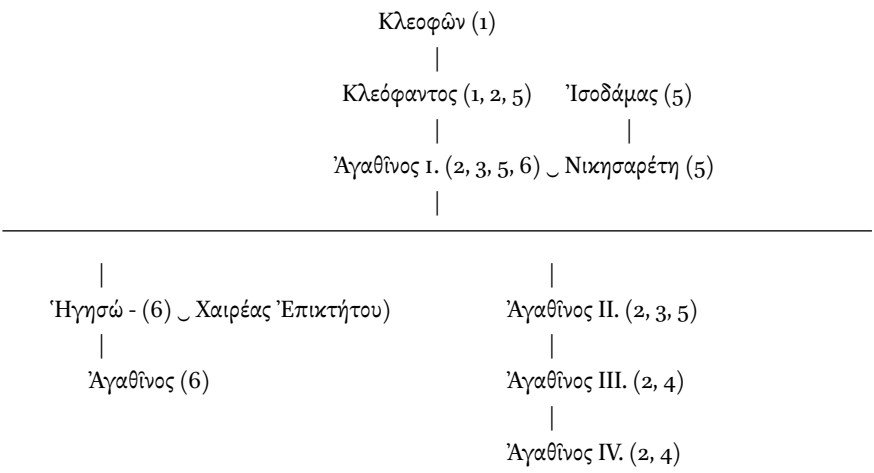

IG XII 7 and XII Suppl.

(1) no. 22
(2) no. 33
(3) no. 32
(4) Suppl. 330
(5) no. 83*a*
(6) no. 82*b*

The example of chronologically disparate members of the same family serving as archon/benefactors for the Itonia is found in inscriptions of Arkesine featuring the descendants of a certain Kleophon, including his son Kleophantos, his grandson, Agathinos, various others named Agathinos, and some relatives by marriage.[127] To clarify the testimonia to this family in the Itonia decrees and other Amorgian inscriptions, it will be helpful at this point to include a new version of a *stemma familiae* of the kind that was published first in its simplest form by Georges Radet and Pierre Paris and later amplified by Jules Delamarre in the *Corpus* edition, *IG* XII 7. 33.[128] The present *stemma* and discussion

127 See particularly *IG* XII 7. 22 and 33. I follow the texts of *IG* XII 7. 33 and the Packard Humanities Institute epigraphy project, by which, according to the restoration of lines 2–4, Kleophantos is the great grandfather of Agathinos (III), the grandfather of Agathinos (II), and the father of Agathinos (I). Cf. the *editio princeps* of Radet and Paris (1891, no. 11, pp. 589–592), wherein, according to an initial *stemma familiae* and the underestimated width and lesser restoration of the text, Kleophantos was thought to be the grandfather of Agathinos (III).

128 The stemma at *IG* XII 7. 33 was republished in Nigdelis 1990, pl. Α΄ p. 331.

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follow *IG* in distinguishing the multiple persons named Agathinos by Roman numerals and using Arabic numerals to key the individuals in the table to the various inscriptions in *IG* XII 7 and XII Supplement.

As noted above, the *dêmos* and *boulê* of the Arkesineans in the third century decreed honors for Kleophantos, the son of Kleophon, because of his generous exercise of the archonship for the festival of Athena Itonia.[129] From a similar decree a century later honoring Agathinos (IV) for his archonship for Athena Itonia, we calculate that Kleophantos was his great-great grandfather, and that the intervening males in the family line were his father (Agathinos III), grandfather (Agathinos II), and great grandfather (Agathinos I). As the texts state, they were all good and honorable benefactors toward the *dêmos*, they adorned the Arkesinean *polis* and sanctuaries, and, furthermore, a reason for the choice of the current honorand, Agathinos (IV), was that his magistracy was thought "to add to the virtue of his ancestors."[130] An Agathinos, son of Agathinos, is the honorand in another Itonia decree of Arkesine (*IG* XII Suppl. 330),[131] which the *Corpus* editor, Hiller von Gaertringen, dated to about the same time as *IG* XII 7. 33 (2nd c. BC). Moreover, as in *IG* XII 7. 33, this decree highlights the repeated generosity of this family line, noting that Agathinos' motivation for the archonship for the Itonia is "to augment the purpose of his ancestors," and in honoring him the Arkesineans agree "to praise the ancestors of Agathinos, men who have been good and noble to the *demos*."[132] In another Arkesinean decree of the second century in which the name of the honorand is lost, an Agathinos, son of Agathinos, perhaps one of the archon/benefactors of that name honored in one of the other Arkesinian decrees of the same century, appears as one of two men charged with taking care (ἐπιμεληθῆναι) of the publication of the decree. Since all of the technical work of inscribing the decree has been assigned to the secretary of the *boulê*, the responsibility of Agathinos and his colleague is presumably to pay all the costs entailed in the creation and display of the Itonia inscription and to see that the publication is carried out.[133]

129 *IG* XII 7. 22.

130 See *IG* XII 7. 33, especially lines 7–8: ὅ τε υἱὸς Ἀγαθίνου Ἀγαθ[ῖνος προελόμενος] / [αὔ]ξειν τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀ[ρετὴν …

131 See Vanseveren 1937, pp. 317–321.

132 *IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 7–8: Ἀγαθῖν[ος] βουλό[μεν]ος [αὔξειν τὴν] / τῶν προγόνων αἵρεσιν… (Regarding the meaning of αἵρεσις, "to add to the *choice* of his ancestors" is not precluded, but seems less likely than "to add to the *purpose* of his ancestors."); lines 30–32: ἐπα[ινέσαι μὲν] / τοὺς προγόνους το[ῦ] Ἀγαθίνο[υ ἄνδρας καλοὺς καῖ ἀγα]-/ θοὺς [γε]γονότας εἰς τὸ[ν] δ[ῆμ]ον.

133 *IG* XII 7. 32, lines 8–14: … ἀνα]-/[γρά]ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν μὲν [γραμμα]-/[τέα] τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὰ δημό[σι]α γ[ρά]μ[ματα],/[ἀν]αγράψαι δὲ καὶ ε[ἰ]στήλην λ[ι]θίνην [καὶ στῆ]-/ [σα]ι εἰς ἀγοράν· ἐ[π]ιμεληθῆναι [δὲ τῆς]/ [ἀνα]γ[ρ]αφῆς Ἀγαθῖνο[ν] Ἀγαθίνου, N- - - -/ - -ν

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Although Agathinos' financial responsibility in this case would be much less than that of an honored archon for the Itonian festival, we know from the cost of producing inscriptions on stone stelai that this was still no small generosity.[134] Kleophantos, the son of Kleophon, is another example of an honored archon/benefactor for the Itonia (*IG* XII 7. 22) from the same family as Agathinos, who is further called upon to use his wealth for the publication of an honorific decree in the shrine of Athena Itonia and the agora of Arkesine.[135]

Perennial prominence of the descendants of Kleophon in the city of Arkesine is evident in inscriptions other than the decrees associated with the festival of Athena Itonia. An inscribed base of about the late-third century shows that Agathinos (I), the son of Kleophantos, and his wife, Nikesarete, the daughter of Isodamas, dedicated a statue of their son Agathinos (II) to Eileithyia, presumably in thanksgiving for the child's safe birth.[136] A generation later, Chaireas, the son of Epiktetos, and his wife Hegeso, the daughter of Agathinos (I) and sister of Agathinos (II), added to the same base a dedicatory inscription to Eileithyia in thanksgiving for the birth of their son, Agathinos, who has been given not only the name of his uncle, Agathinos (II), but apparently also his statue.[137] Finally, in the Roman Imperial period, the name of Agathinos appears in a number of other Amorgian inscriptions, mainly from

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Κλευμένε[ο]ς ... Supporting the idea that this ἐπιμέλεια involves paying for the publication is a decree of Aigiale where (*IG* XII 7. 387, line 25) the person responsible for publication is a treasurer, [Pr]axiphon. See also *IG* XII 7. 34, lines 3–7, in which those responsible for the publication of this Itonia decree in the sanctuary of Athena and in the agora are (lines 6–7) τὸν δεῖνα] / [- - - Ἀγα]θίνου καὶ Ἀγαθίνον. Despite differences in lettering, Delamarre (commentary on *IG* [loc. cit.]) suggested that this inscription is perhaps a fragment of *IG* XII 7. 33, where the honorand, Agathinos, is a relative. While this may be the case, it is less likely that the same Agathinos would be both honored and required to pay for the publication of the decree of his own honors.

134 See above, pp. 229–230 and footnote 91, for the cost of inscriptions.

135 *IG* XII 7. 23, lines 7–9: ... ἐπι]μ[εληθῆ]ναι δὲ τῆς ἀναγρα-/[φῆς] καὶ [τῆς ἀνασ]τ[ά]σεως Κλεόφαντον Κλεο-/[φῶ]ντο[ς. The name of the honorand of this fragmentary decree is lost. The remnant is largely but plausibly restored. In another case of honors for Agathinos, the son of Agathinos, at Arkesine in the 2nd century, the honorand is the beneficiary of payment for his published honors by one Kleinias, the son of Aristokritos (*IG* XII Suppl. 330, lines 46–51: ἐπιμεληθῆ[ναι δὲ τῆς ἀναγρα]- / [φῆς κ]αὶ τῆς στά[εως Κλ]εινίαν Ἀριστοκρίτου.)

136 *IG* XII 7. 83*a*: Ἀγαθῖνος Κλεοφάντου / Νικησαρέτη Ἰσοδάμαντος / τὸν υἱὸν Ἀγαθῖνον Εἰλειθύιῃ.

137 *IG* XII 7. 82 (*b*): Χαιρέας Ἐπι-/ κτήτου καὶ Ἡγη-/ σὼ Ἀγαθίνου / τὸν υἱὸν Ἀγα-/ θῖνον Εἰλει-/ θυίᾳ. *IG* commentary: "Chaereas igitur statuam Agathini olim a maioribus suis positam ad cognominem filium suum transferre non veritus est (Wilamowitz)." Since this inscription is roughly contemporary with the decree of honors for Agathinos (IV), the son of Agathinos (III) (*IG* XII 7. 33), this Chaireas, son of Epiktetos, is possibly the proposer of those honors (line 1: Χαιρέας [{τοῦ δεῖνος} εἶπεν]), thereby promoting his grand-nephew.

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Arkesine, but also from Minoa and Aigiale, that have no apparent relation to Athena Itonia or her festival.[138]

Because the sample of extant decrees of honor in which the names of the wealthy benefactor/archons for the Itonia may not be statistically significant, we can only speculate about the numbers of distinct benefactor families and the recurrence of the archonship within individual families. Since the descendants of Kleophon, the father of Kleophantos, are the only family cited more than once, and that over several generations, it is fair to say that their wealth and their generosity to Athena Itonia must have been exceptional. But the third-century decree of honors at Arkesine for Alexion, son of Dionysios, as representative for the Itonia (*IG* XII 7. 24) shows that great wealth and the archonship for the festival of the Arkesineans were not exclusive to Kleophantos and his descendants, and the two decrees of Minoa honoring respectively Epinomides, the son of Theogenos (*IG* XII 7. 241),[139] and another man, possibly Lanikos by name (*IG* XII 7. 229), for generosity to the Itonia show that this kind of religious philanthropy was not exclusive to the *polis* of Arkesine. The sum of these decrees from Arkesine and Minoa shows that the extraordinary monetary devotion of wealthy patrons to the festival of Athena Itonia was probably very occasional but of lengthy standing in Hellenistic Amorgos, and the epigraphic evidence of Kleophon and his descendants shows such devotion and wealth in a single family spanning at least two centuries. In the final paragraph of this section I will speculate on a question that naturally follows from this evidence, namely, what was the source of such great and durable wealth as could be indulged for so long on the festival of a single cult in an area of fairly limited size and natural resources?

The location of Greece in the mid-Mediterranean, its largely rugged terrain, and its immense and complex coastline, gave its inhabitants a tradition of commercial seafaring that has lasted from the early Bronze Age down to modern times. While citizens of the small hilly pastoral landscape of Amorgos likely made some money from the sale of surplus oil and wine, they lacked such valuable natural resources as marble and precious metals, which could have yielded the kind of wealth that the honored archons for the Itonia gave

138 See *IG* XII 7. Index I, Nomina virorum et mulierum, s.v. Ἀγαθῖνος and Ἀγαθεῖνος.

139 Epinomides is the name of a brother and the maternal grandfather of Bryto, the daughter of Agathopous, in a decree of the *dêmos* and *boulê* of the Samian residents of Minoa (*IG* XII 7. 239; see *stemmata familiae* in *IG* and Nigdelis 1990, p. 334, pl. Δ′) granting posthumous honors to Bryto. Since this decree dates from the Roman Imperial age, these two men are possibly distant descendants of Epinomides, the son of Theogenos.

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for the festival of Athena Itonia.[140] Nevertheless, the economic compensation for the island's limited material resources was, like that of Greece as a whole, its strategic location for maritime trade. Lying on the southeast periphery of the Cycladic archipelago, and having on its western coast good harbors protected by flanking hills,[141] Amorgos was well positioned on the Aegean shipping lanes from the Levant, North Africa, Asia Minor with its adjacent islands, and Crete.[142] Probably from their earliest history, Amorgians and other Greeks who were attracted to the commercial opportunities of this Cycladic island became ship owners, garnering wealth by transporting goods throughout the islands, the ports of mainland Greece, and the farther shores of the Mediterranean.[143] Old evidence of this strategic economic position is the toponym Minoa, certainly a vestige of Amorgos as an important colony and way-station on the maritime trade routes of the Bronze-Age Cretan kingdoms.[144] In a decree of second-century Arkesine honoring a person whose name and the reason for his honors

140 Though it has been suggested that Amorgos may have been a center for the weaving of silk from the east (Miller 1997, p. 77 and n. 100; for the famed Amorgian chitons, see Richter 1929), such an industry is doubtful as the source of the wealth of the Amorgian donor/archons for the Itonia.

141 The superior harbor at modern Katapola below the ancient acropolis of Minoa would have been most attractive to shipping in antiquity, as it is today; Reger 1994b, p. 58.

142 *RE* I, 1894, col. 1876, s.v. Amorgos (G. Hirschfeld). *OCD*[4] p. 72, s.v. Amorgos (R.W.V. Catling): "Its location makes it an attractive staging-point for shipping." Amorgos by its location specifically exemplifies the broader statement of Reger (1994b, p. 68) that "the Kyklades owed most of their importance to the larger world as caravanserais on the sea-lanes from Greece to Asia." Cf. above, p. 215 and footnote 32, on the Athenian garrison at Arkesine during the Social War as evidence of the key importance of the location of Amorgos for protection of grain supplies from Egypt and the Near East.

143 See Liampi 2004, p. 66, for the observation that "Amorgos, with its excellent and commercial location in the Aegean sea, had early attracted the interest of the powerful cities." As noted earlier (p. 222, footnote 56), the presence of resident aliens on Amorgos from Naxos, Samos, and Miletos and their welcome to the festival of Athena Itonia probably bespeaks their value to the island's maritime commerce. There is no evidence for the views that Cycladic islanders did not engage in long-range shipping or that their products were transported by merchant mariners from outside the islands (*pace* Rutishauser 2012, pp. 51, 73). The extent of personal wealth evident in the decrees of honor for donor/archons for the Amorgian Itonia seems more than could be earned by any private citizen in the collection of harbor dues or the replenishing of ship stores. Given the increasingly prosperous local commerce that followed the decline of Athenian hegemony in the Aegean Sea, it seems quite plausible that individual aristocratic island families could have raised the capital to invest in the materials, construction, and operation of long-range merchant vessels.

144 Thuc. 1.4.1: Μίνως γὰρ παλαίτατος ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν ἐκτήσατο καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἦρξέ τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο. Marangou (1981, pp. 322–323) concluded that the results of her excavation of Amorgian Minoa confirmed the finding of the earlier systematic exploration

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are lost to us, we read that the secretary of the Boule is to copy the decree and, after sealing it with the demotic seal of Arkesine, to dispatch it to Knossos and the ἀρχαί (restored) there.[145] Of the many meanings of ἀρχαί, the presumed reference here is most likely to "magistracies" of Knossos, which will be at least apprised of the honors to this person, perhaps deposit the dispatched copy in their archives, or even further the honors by inscribing them on a stele for publication in the Cretan city. Whether the honorand was an Arkesinean or a Knossian,[146] this decree and references to Crete in other Amorgian inscriptions indicate close connections between the Cycladic island and Crete, and that connection certainly involved lucrative maritime trade.

Conditions in the Cyclades of the Hellenistic period brought about on Amorgos three factors that were likely related: extraordinary wealth from maritime commerce, an upsurge of piratical activity,[147] and the outstanding devotion to the cult of Athena Itonia manifest in the subsidy of her festival by wealthy individuals. With the decline of Athenian imperial hegemony in the islands after the Social War (357–355 BC), much of the profit of sea trade that Athens had formerly appropriated in the forms of tribute, the εἰκοστή tax on all imports and exports by sea,[148] harbor dues, and protection fees began to be redirected to Cycladic shipowners and harbor towns.[149] With the growth of this wealth and the winding down of Athenian thalassocracy, the danger of piracy became more intense,[150] and Amorgos, with its key location on trade

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by Christos Tsountas that the site was inhabited and exploited since the proto-Cycladic period.

145 *IG* XII 7. 32, lines 14–17: τὰ ‹δ'› ἐψηφισμέ[να ἀντιγραψά]-/[τω κ]αὶ διαποστειλάσθω ὁ γραμμ[ατεὺς τῆς]/[βου]λῆς εἰς Κνωσὸν πρὸς τ[ὰ]ς [ἀρχὰς σφρα]-/[γισ]άμενος τεῖ [δημοσίαι σφραγῖδι]. The purpose of the seal was to assure that the text was transmitted intact.

146 See above, p. 218 and footnote 44, on the question of this honorand's being a Cretan.

147 On piracy, see the following section on the character of Athena Itonia in her cult on Amorgos.

148 Thuc. 7.28. Rutishauser 2012, p. 8.

149 Marking the increased prosperity from this era, some Cycladic states began again the minting of silver coinage and the construction of monumental temples, activities that had been suspended during the many decades of Athenian ἀρχή; see Rutishauser 2012, pp. 189, 232 and nn. 298–299.

150 See Reger 1994a, pp. 42 and 262–263, for the correlation of increased piracy with the growth of wealth from maritime commerce in the Cyclades of the Hellenistic period. Individual islanders could invest in merchant ships, but in lieu of a major naval power in the region, the individual Cycladic *poleis* had neither the economy nor material resources to build and man warships in numbers that could police the seas beyond a limited area. There is further evidence of the nexus of wealth, coinage, and piracy, if Sheedy and Papageorgiadou (1998) are right in their view that the need of silver coinage by island cities in the Hellenistic period was spurred in part by the expense of building fortifications.

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routes and its good harbors, was, as the epigraphic evidence suggests, a principal subject in this evolution.

11 The Character of Athena Itonia in the Amorgian Cult

In considering the possible character or attributes of Athena Itonia in her cult on the island of Amorgos, it is logical to look for possible precedents in what we know of her character in the instances of the Itonian cult elsewhere. Earlier chapters of this book showed that she was chiefly a martial goddess, certainly in Thessaly and Boiotia and, if the cult was brought south by the Thessalian allies of the Peisistratids, at Athens in the late Archaic age, if not thereafter.[151] The only direct evidence of the Itonian cult on Amorgos, however, is that provided by the extant decrees of honor for the archons of the Itonia of Arkesine and Minoa, and, despite the importance of the cult as indicated by those texts, they give no explicit indication of the nature of the local Athena Itonia.[152] This is understandable, as the primary purpose of these decrees was not to comment on the goddess or her cult but to publicize the honors granted to the magistrates for the Itonian festival and the actions that merited those honors.

Obviously a cult deity as important as Athena Itonia was to the people of Arkesine and Minoa had some particular character and attributes. Since the Itonia decrees are the sole source of information about the Athena Itonia of Amorgos, we must look to them, in conjunction with other evidence from the same era, for clues to her character, while recognizing that the process is one of compounding hypotheses and that the result may be somewhat speculative. If the Itonia decrees give any indication of the nature of this Athena, it is probably to be found in a motivation of her wealthy donors that is more deeply rooted than simple piety and the desire for public recognition. We have already offered an argument from circumstantial evidence that the source of the extraordinary wealth of these donors was commercial seafaring, and we can emphasize again that in the ancient Mediterranean a common corollary of

151 See pp. xx in the preceding chapters for discussion of the character of Athena Itonia in the known mainland locations of the cult.

152 Since *strategoi* at Arkesine served in a number of political capacities, and a variety of officials and persons propose decrees, we should probably not infer anything about a martial character of Athena Itonia from the fact that officials with this traditionally military title were apparently among those who proposed the honors for benefactions to the Itonia by Alexion, son of Dionysios (*IG* XII 7. 24, lines 2–3: οἱ στρ[α(τηγοὶ)] / [εἶπ]ον).

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maritime trade was piracy.[153] Although piracy in the ancient Aegean was never totally suppressed, it could be greatly reduced when strong naval power policed the sea. What Thucydides wrote about the piracy of prehistoric times was generally true of later Greek history.[154] Throughout that history many villages could be sited at a fairly safe distance from the sea, but with periods of large-scale maritime commerce towns grew wealthy around good harbors, like that at modern Katapola below the acropolis of Amorgian Minoa. In the Hellenistic period, when the navies of Athens and Alexander the Great no longer policed the region,[155] and before Pompey swept piracy from the Mediterranean, the wealthy trade through Aegean waters attracted pirates from various regions, and especially from Crete.[156] During the third and second centuries BC, control of the League of Islanders by Macedonia, Ptolemaic Egypt, and more so Rhodes was occasionally able through naval power and diplomacy with piratical Cretan cities to give the Aegean islands some protection from incursions.[157]

153 For piracy in the classical world, see *OCD*[4], p. 1150, s.v. piracy (P. de Souza). On piracy in the Aegean region during the Hellenistic period, see Ormerod 1924, pp. 122–150; de Souza 1999, pp. 43–54, 56–76, 80–92.

154 See Thuc. 1.4.1; 1.5.1–3; 1.7.1; 1.8.1–2. Thucydides correlates thalassocracy mainly with the suppression of piracy. See Braudel 1972, pp. 865–891, for this correlation.

155 There may be some early evidence of Athenian action against piracy in the Arkesinean decree of honors for Androtion (*IG* XII 7. 5 [357/6 (?) BC]; see above, p. 215 and footnote 32), the Athenian commander of the garrison at Arkesine. Lines 7–8 of the decree refer to Androtion's lending interest-free money to the city in a crisis, and lines 15–16 refer to his ransoming of Arkesineans taken prisoner by the enemy. Given Arkesine's key location on the supply-line of North African grain, this enemy may have been independent pirates or pirates employed by Athens' foes in the Social War. The Athenian navy policed the Aegean against pirates as late as 335–334 BC (*IG* II[2] 1623), but the Macedonians crippled the thalassocracy of Athens in the Lamian War by destroying much of its fleet in the Battle of Amorgos in 322 BC.

156 On the piratical culture of ancient Cretans, see Polyb. 4.8.11; see also Ormerod 1924, pp. 138–139, and Reger 1994b, p. 68 and n. 150, for the claim, with evidentiary sources, that piracy was endemic in some Cretan cities in the third and second centuries, and that afflicted Aegean islanders sought help against them by agreements with friendlier Cretan cities. See also Rutishauser 2012, p. 16 and n. 82, for reference to Crete as among the places that were synonymous with piracy in the Hellenistic period, and the fact that it is difficult to accurately assess the damage that pirates inflicted on trade, because, for all the epigraphic evidence of honors to those who ransomed captives of piracy, there is no matching gauge of successful maritime trade. It must be noted, however, that the extant epigraphic evidence likely reflects only a fraction of piracy's historical reality.

157 The fragmented history of the Nesiotic League in the Hellenistic period shows no really extended and thorough suppression of piracy in the central Aegean by the Antigonid, Ptolemaic, or Rhodian navies. For the direction of diplomacy against Cretan piracy, see, e.g., the Rhodian alliance with Hierapytna (*Syll*[3] 581 [ca. 200–197 BC]); *ICr.* III Hierapytna 3. 79–82; see also Reger 1994b, p. 65 and n. 137, regarding independent treaties of Cycladic

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Nevertheless, shifting alliances and warfare among these powers,[158] the fact that the Successor Kings even engaged pirates as allies and mercenaries,[159] and that there was at times no clear distinction between pirates and acceptable merchants precluded the suppression of piracy on a wide or long-term scale.[160]

The number and complex formation of the Cycladic islands, their irregular shorelines, and their harbor towns made their region especially vulnerable to piracy, and Amorgos, as a strategic port of call for lucrative commercial shipping to and from the eastern and southeastern Mediterranean, was a particular target.[161] Complementing epigraphic testimony to the piratical threat to Amorgos in the Hellenistic period is architectural evidence in the extensive and costly system of stone towers in the countryside, structures that probably served among other purposes as refuges, defensive strong-points, and signal-fire posts in case of raids from the sea.[162] In what might be called a vicious cycle, the great financial outlay for fortifications against piracy was made necessary and possible by the growth of commercial wealth, which increasingly attracted pirates. Thus it would make sense for wealthy merchants and other residents of Arkesine and Minoa to be especially devoted to Athena Itonia as a militant deity whom, by *polis*-wide festival sacrifice, they would thank for protecting their enterprise in the past and propitiate for continuance of that protection. Whereas in Thessaly and Boiotia the military virtues of Athena Itonia as protectress of the state were concerned with warfare of all sorts, it is very plausible that this martial character, regardless of its immediate source, accompanied the goddess to Amorgos, where she came to be worshipped

islands with Cretan pirates. Rhodian naval detachments to Crete at the request of Knossos (Polyb. 4.53) ca. 220 BC may have been directed against Cretan piracy.

158 See Chaniotis 2005, Ch. 4, "War and the Ideology of Hellenistic Monarchs."

159 See Rutishauser 2012, p. 206 and nn. 118 (*IG* II^2 682 [= *Syll.*^{3} 409], lines 9–13 and *IG* II^2 549 [= *IG* XII 5, testimonia, 1297]), 119, and 120 for an Athenian naval expedition against Kythnian pirates who may have been employed by Antigonos Monophthalmos in his attempt to wrest control of the Aegean from the Athenians.

160 See Reger's resumé (1994b) of the political history of the Cyclades in the third century, including his remarks (p. 67) that Aegean "piracy is at least a matter of perspective" and that such pirates "would perhaps have been no less welcome than fully 'legitimate' traders." These observations echo Thucydides' (1.5.1) earlier statement that the profession of piracy "so far from being regarded as disgraceful, was considered quite honorable." (tr. R. Warner).

161 Fundamental is Jules Delamarre's (1903) article on the epigraphic evidence of piracy directed against Amorgos in the third and second centuries BC.

162 See Ormerod 1924, pp. 41–49, and Rutishauser 2012, p. 234, for general attention to such towers in the Cycladic islands. See Marangou 2002–2005, vol. 1, pp. 49–62, 323–339, and vol. 2, passim, for extensive narrative and illustration of the many towers throughout Amorgos.

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especially for protection of individuals and towns from the scourge of piracy. Strong circumstantial evidence of such connection of martial religious cult and piracy comprises several Amorgian inscriptions that are contemporary with the Itonia decrees of Arkesine and Minoa. From the *polis* of Aigiale in the third century BC we have inscribed records of honors for citizens who by ransom and armed resistance rescued numerous countrymen who were captured or besieged by pirates.[163] These honorific decrees of Aigiale and their publication in the sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, the protective deities of that *polis*, find a possible analogy in a later inscription of Arkesine and a clue to the character of Athena Itonia there. In the second century BC, the Arkesineans decreed (*IG* XII 7. 36) the honors of crowning and *proedria* for a woman Timessa, first for her general beneficence to the city and its people, and then for a particular but not precisely explained act, namely, that she did all she could to rescue those who were afflicted when a misfortune befell the city (lines 11–15: ἐπιγενομέ]νου δὲ συνπτώ/[μ]ατος περὶ τὴν π[όλιν ἡμῶν τ]ὴν πᾶ/[σα]ν σπουδὴν ἐποήσατο εἰς τ[ὸ ἀνα]/[σ]ωθῆναι τοὺς πολίτας πάντας [τοὺς]/[ἀχθ]έντας, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἐστὶν δυνατή ["When misfortune fell upon our city, she exerted every effort to saving all the afflicted citizens, and she did so to the full extent of her ability."]).[164] Since some of this wording closely resembles that of the Aigiale decrees about rescue from pirates (cf. *IG* XII 7. 386, lines 26–27: ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτους σέσωιστα[ι] / τὰ αἰχμάλωτα σώματα, and *IG* XII 7. 387, lines 5–6: τοὺς δ[ὲ ἁ]- / [λόντας ἔσ]ωσεν), several scholars have suggested that Timessa's

163 See *IG* XII 7. 386 (= *Syll.*³ 521) for honors to Hegesippos and Antipappos for negotiating the release from pirates of more than 30 Aigialeans; for this case see also Delamarre 1903, p. 111; Ormerod 1924, pp. 139–140; de Souza 1999, pp. 4–5, 61. See also *IG* XII 7. 387, honoring Timok—, son of Aristolas, for saving persons besieged by pirates; see Weil 1876, p. 339; Delamarre 1903, pp. 111–114 (n.b. Delamarre's suggestion [p. 114] that the finding of the latter Aigialean inscription at Arkesine may have been the result of its eventual use as ballast, a common practice that sometimes dispersed stone among the Cycladic archipelago). Also on piracy at Aigiale, Arkesine, and Minoa, see Nigdelis 1990. p. 14 and n. 12; Brulé 1978, pp. 57–61. Cf. *IG* XII 3. 328 and 1291, for problems with Cretan piracy also in the third century at Thera, another island strategically located for maritime trade. Notable late in the same century is the piratical assault on the Cycladic cities by Demetrios of Pharos (Polyb. 4.16), who was finally driven out by the Rhodians; see Reger 1994b, p. 65 and n. 135; Huss 1976, p. 217: "den Schutz der Kykladen vor den Piratenzügen des Demetrios von Pharos." For a resumé of the epigraphic evidence of the liberation and rescue of prisoners in Greek antiquity, see the work of Anne Bielman 1994, including attention to texts noted here (*IG* XII 7. 36, 386, 387).

164 The *boulê* and *dêmos* of the Timessa decree are very likely of Arkesine, since both of its fragments (frag. A: lines 1–10, *ed. princ.*, Homolle 1891, p. 671; frag. B: lines 11–26, *ed. princ.*, Deschamps 1888, p. 327) were found in the vicinity of that *polis*. Fragment B is now in the museum of Syros. See also the further discussion of this decree by Bielman (2002, no. 29).

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special initiative was to rescue Arkesineans who had been captured by pirates.[165] If that was the case, and Athena Itonia was indeed a militant patron of the Arkesineans, this *polis* would naturally associate Timessa's benefactions with the help of the Itonian goddess, and therefore the choice of a *synodos* of Athena's festival as one of the occasions for Timessa's honorific *proedria* would not have been arbitrary, but purposeful.[166] If we keep in mind that the Aigiale piracy decrees were published in the sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus, deities not attested in Arkesine and Minoa, it is a fair inference that Athena Itonia in the latter two *poleis* had militant and protective attributes that were like those of Athena Polias in the north of the island and elsewhere in Greece.[167] Also suggestive that this character of Athena Itonia at Arkesine and Minoa was uniquely invoked with regard to maritime trade and the threat

165 Delamarre 1903, pp. 114–116. See also Nigdelis 1990, p. 15 and n. 15; Lagos 2009, p. 82 n. 4. Pierre Brulé (1978, pp. 57–58, 161; *SEG* XXIX 762), while agreeing that Timessa had ransomed Arkesineans from Cretan pirates, suggested that she was herself a Knossian and that she may have made some of her wealth from trading in slaves captured by pirates. If, however, Timessa was not at least an alien resident of Arkesine, it is hard to make sense of the fact that she is to be honored with "*proedria* at the assembly of the Itonia and at all the other assemblies of the *polis*." Cf. above, p. 218 and footnote 44, for my similar comment in the case of *IG* XII 7. 32 and the unknown honorand, thought by some to be a Cretan, who was to be crowned perennially at the Itonia and other events of the Arkesineans.

166 Timessa's grant of *proedria* ἐν τ[εῖ] / συνόδωι τῶν Ἰτωνίων καὶ ἐν τ[αῖς] / [ἄ]λλαις συνόδοις πάσαις τ[αῖς πο]-/ [λ]ιτικαῖς (lines 21–24) simply refers to her place of honor in a gathering of celebrants of the Itonia (perhaps at the agora before the procession, or the sacrifice, or the banquets) and in all the other assemblages of the *polis*. Her crowning along with that of other honorands is to be proclaimed at this *synodos* of the festival (lines 24–26). The comments of Lagos 2009, p. 82 and n. 4, that "one of the highest honors bestowed upon a citizen of Arkesine or Minoa was *to head the* '*conference* [my emphasis] of the Itonians' [*sic*; rather, 'the Itonian festival,' i.e., τὰ Ἰτώνια (ἱερά)]," and that "even a woman at Arkesine received this honor," seem to suggest that Timessa held an office in conjunction with her awards, but this overreaches the textual evidence.

167 See above Chapters One, Two, and Three, pp. 23, 111–112, 193, on the kindred attributes of Athena Itonia and Athena Polias in Thessaly, Boiotia, and Athens. If there was an equivalence of these two goddesses in Arkesine and Aigiale respectively, it would be a corrective to Gary Reger's (*IACP* 2004, pp. 734–735, no. 472, s.v. Arkesine) observation that Athena Itonia was important at Arkesine in the Hellenistic period, but that "the protective deity is unknown." Since, as Reger noted (loc.cit.), some earlier Arkesinean decrees (e.g., *IG* XII 7. 67, lines 83–84) were deposited in the archive and inscribed in the sanctuary of Hera, it may be that she was the city's protective divinity in the Classical period, but, with the greater need of protection against the piratical upsurge in the Hellenistic period, this role passed to Athena Itonia. If Athena Itonia was not in this period the chief cult of Arkesine and Minoa, the extraordinary epigraphic evidence of her festival can give that impression; see Nilsson 1906, p. 89, "Das Fest ist so glänzend, dass es die Hauptfeier und Athena Itonia die Hauptgöttin gewesen sein muss."

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of piracy is the fact that of the festivals of the multiple cult deities attested in extant inscriptions of the two *poleis* only the Itonia is known to have been grandly subsidized by wealthy individuals.[168]

We can now turn again to *IG* XII 7. 32, the honorific Arkesinean decree of the early second century, which was to be copied for dispatch to Knossos, and the original proposition of Radet and Paris that this decree's documentation of relations between Arkesine and Knossos concerned acts of piracy, for which Crete was infamous at this time.[169] As in the case of Timessa, it was probably not arbitrary that the festival of Athena Itonia was one of the occasions on which this unknown honorand was to be crowned each year, in his case at the procession to the Itonia. Jules Delamarre took up the hypothesis of Radet and Paris and offered further epigraphic evidence for relations of Amorgos and Crete that likely concerned piracy, citing another fragmentary text of Arkesine (*IG* XII 7. 63), which contains the phrase ἐκ Κρήτης (line 4) and numerous references to the principal and interest of loans handed over by subscribers, which he interpreted as expenditures for the ransoming of Arkesineans taken by pirates to Crete.[170] Delamarre concluded his discussion of piratic involvement with Arkesine by suggesting that the captives believed to have been redeemed by Timessa had also been taken to Crete and the possibility that all three of the Arkesinean decrees under discussion pertained to the same piratical episode.[171]

On the subject of Amorgos and piracy, Delamarre also discussed somewhat less precise epigraphic evidence of piratical aggression against Minoa in two texts from around the turn of the third to second centuries BC.[172] The first, a Minoan decree with letter-forms no earlier than the first part of the second

168 See the indices of *IG* XII 7 and XII Suppl., s.v. Res sacrae, for the deities attested in the inscriptions of Arkesine and Minoa.

169 Radet and Paris (1891, p. 591, note 6) saw further evidence of the involvement of Arkesine and Crete in matters of piracy in a fragmentary early Hellenistic proxeny decree of Arkesine that mentions Rhithymnos (*ed. princ.* Dümmler 1886, pp. 106–107, no. 13, line 3; cf. *IG* XII 7. 7, line 2–3: … τοὺ[ς τ]ε ἀφικ[νουμένους Ἄρκε] / [σινέων εἰς] Ῥίθυμνον.

170 Delamarre 1903, p. 119. Interestingly Delamarre (pp. 118–119) suggested that *IG* XII 7. 63 was contemporary with *IG* XII 7. 32 (the early second-century Itonia decree sent to Knossos; see above), not only on the basis of similar lettering but also on the likelihood that the Agathinos mentioned in the former decree (line 11) was the homonymous man responsible for the publication of the latter decree (line 13). Contrary to Delamarre's dating of *IG* XII 7. 63, the PHI website of Greek inscriptions (https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/78705?&bookid=22&location=37) dates it to the fourth century. Despite an extensive search of *SEG*, I could not account for this discrepancy.

171 Delamarre 1903, p. 119.

172 Delamarre 1903, pp. 120–121, and especially p. 121 for his speculation that the Arkesinean and Minoan inscriptions concerning piracy are a homogenous group of the second century BC that may be associated with the Cretan War of 204–197 BC.

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century BC honored Kritolaos of Aigiale for a loan to the *dêmos* of the Minoans in response to "pressing necessity" and "times of grave circumstance,"[173] a case which Delamarre hypothesized as the raising of money to pay pirates who had either taken over the city or were holding residents for ransom.[174] The other text of Minoa names late third-century *proxenoi*, including a Knossian, Ergoteles, the son of Philokrates, one of a number of persons who Delamarre thought may have been honored for contributing to the deliverance of citizens taken to Crete by pirates.[175]

To conclude, it is probably not just a matter of chance that honorific decrees for wealthy donors to the Itonia at Arkesine and Minoa have a fair chronological correspondence with the epigraphic evidence for extraordinary piratical aggression against Amorgos. If we were correct in our hypothesis that lucrative trade was the source of the wealth of the donor/archons for the Itonia at Arkesine and Minoa, then the well substantiated threat of piracy to the wealth and safety of the Amorgian merchant mariners and their fellow residents constitutes a very plausible motive for propitiating or thanking a militant and protective Athena Itonia by the very generous subsidy of her festival by wealthy sea traders. It is quite plausible that the cult and festival of Athena Itonia existed at Arkesine and Minoa for some indefinite time before the third century, but that it was the growth of piratical raids against Amorgos in the Hellenistic period that prompted wealthy maritime traders to indulge their protective goddess with these gifts of extraordinary individual generosity to her festival. Such a sequence of circumstances could explain the fact that at the time of the earliest extant Itonia decree the cult and festival of Athena are already fully developed. From this confluence of evidence and events we have a tentative proposition about the character of Athena Itonia at Arkesine and Minoa and the reason for our unique knowledge of her cult on the island of Amorgos.

173 *Ed. princ.* Cahen 1899, pp. 390–392. *IG* XII 7. 388, lines 6–8: χρείας τε γενομένης / ἀναγκαίας τῷ δήμῳ διαφόρου διὰ τοὺς / περιστάντας καιρούς. See Delamarre 1903, p. 120, including n. 3 for some similar wording in an honorific decree of the township of the Potidaians for a Karpathian (*Syll*^{3} 570, line 14: χρείαν ἐν ἀναγκαίοις καιροῖς). On loans, including the case of *IG* XII 7. 388, of private capital to *poleis* in the Hellenistic period, see Véronique Chankowski 2007; see also Migeotte 1984, no. 56 (*IG* XII 7. 388).

174 A strong motive of pirates for the capture of persons from wealthy communities was the fact that the captors could often get easier and greater profit from their captives' families and fellow citizens than from the slave market; see de Souza 1999, pp. 65–69.

175 Delamarre 1903, pp. 120–121; Migeotte 1984, no. 55; this inscription, *IG* XII 7. 221, comprises three separate proxeny texts: *a* (lines 1–5): the end of the list that includes the name of Ergoteles; *b* (lines 6–31): a decree of proxeny for an envoy of Antigonos Doson (229–221 BC); *c* (lines 32–34): a proposal of proxeny for a Rhodian.

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12 Summary

Most of what we know about the cult of Athena Itonia on the island of Amorgos is derived from the extant stone stelai on which the *poleis* of Arkesine and Minoa inscribed decrees of honors for the wealthy archons who subsidized celebrations of the festival called τὰ Ἰτώνια. This evidence of a highly developed cult and festival spans much of the third, second, and early first centuries of the Hellenistic period, but it does not necessarily indicate the chronological limits of the cult on the island. Nor do the Itonia decrees, even in combination with other circumstantial evidence, allow a definitive case as to the origins of the cult on Amorgos or the time and circumstances of its propagation there. Despite these evidentiary limits about the cult and its goddess, the extant decrees give us unique information about the finance and operations of an Itonian festival, including the marshaling of hundreds of participants, their procession to the sanctuary, animal sacrifices, and abundant festival dining. We know of these details only in the cases of extraordinary funding of the festival by what must have been a very small minority of wealthy archons and their families, but the evidence is not sufficient to tell how frequent were these instances of great individual generosity and whether or not the archonship for the Itonia was limited to those who could afford such expense. The other body of information that comes logically from the purpose of these decrees is the variety of repeated honors that are customarily given to the wealthy archons and frequently to other members of their families: proclamations, crownings with wreaths, *proedria*, and exemption from fees, not only at ceremonies of the Itonia but also at other public events such as athletic and artistic competitions. The questions of whether Arkesine and Minoa shared a single Itonian *temenos* or celebrated the Itonia in common will continue to be debated, though the present study argues the view that the two *poleis* may have had a common sanctuary located somewhere between their *astê*, but that they had separate celebrations of the Itonia. This work also argued tentatively that maritime trade was the source of the exceptional wealth given for the Itonia, and that it might be inferred from this and epigraphic evidence of piracy at Amorgos in the same period that the great generosity to the Itonia was a recognition that Athena Itonia brought to Amorgos some of the martial and protective character that she had elsewhere and which was therefore generously thanked and propitiated on Amorgos for its value in the quest for a safe citizenry and a profitable merchant marine.

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APPENDIX

Athena Itonia Indigenous to Athens?

In spite of the long-standing and extensive circumstantial evidence and scholarly agreement summarized in the first chapter of this book, that the cult of Athena Itonia had its earliest known prominence, if not origin, in Thessaly and that the byname of the goddess was probably derived from the primitive Thessalian town of Iton, there has been a recurring thesis that the cult of the Itonian goddess originated at Athens and that the byname Itonia had a peculiarly Athenian meaning. Because of the anomaly and complexity of this thesis, it seemed advisable to respond to its many issues by this appendix rather than by extensive digression in Chapter Three on the cult of Athena Itonia at Athens. Conversely, this appendix will include a number of references to Chapters One and Three, and the interested reader would probably benefit from reading those chapters before reading what follows here.

The conception of an early and independent origin of the Itonian cult at Athens comprises a number of passim propositions and arguments by Noel Robertson in his studies of Athenian religion and the worship of Athena in particular.[1] Fundamental to this conception is an etymology of the byname Ἰτωνία in the ιτ- stem of the verb εἶμι as a reference to the "going" of Athena's processional rites in Athens.[2] In a short treatise

1 The propositions and arguments considered here are found chiefly in Robertson 1996a, pp. 56–65; 1996b, pp. 389–408; 2001, pp. 38–39 and nn. 20–21, pp. 51–53, and nn. 55, 56.

2 The ιτ- stem of εἶμι appears in various forms of the indicative, imperative, verbal adjectives, and the iterative (see LSJ, Revised Suppl. [1996], s.v. ἰτάω). See Robertson, 1996a, p. 60, and 2001, p. 52 and n. 55 on this etymology. Since early on Robertson noted that his explanation of this byname of Athena came after "the experts have given up" (1996a, p. 60), he was apparently unaware that more than a century ago A.S. Arvanitopoulos (1908, p. 160) proposed the derivation of Ἰτωνία from εἶμι, but as a reference to the "going" of Athena's "promachos" image so often depicted on Thessalian coinage, with the armored goddess striding forward and brandishing her spear (see Figs. XXX). Robertson also missed the fact that Nikolaos Papahatzis (1974–1981, vol. 5, p. 217) espoused the same etymology and meaning as Arvanitopoulos, but he in turn did not credit his elder countryman. The fact that Stephanus Byzantinus (s.v. Ἴτων) records that the people of Iton pronounced their toponym with the oxytone as Ἰτών is late and slim evidence for the proposed etymology. Stephanus does not say that this was the original pronunciation (*pace* Robertson 2001, p. 52 n. 55) and, if the root were ἰτάω, we should expect ἰτῶν. This etymology and the theory of an origin of Athena Itonia in Athens ignore above all the common Thessalian month Itonios, the festival of Itonia, the toponyms Iton and Itonos, and a hero Itonos, all cognate entities that are absent in Athenian evidence of the cult. Apropos of this point, see below (pp. 261-263) a response to Robertson's rejection of a Thessalian origin of the Itonian cult at Athens. For the common Greek practice

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on the festival of the Panathenaia,[3] Robertson linked this etymology to the fact that the reference in the Pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* ([Pl.] 364 a-b[-d]) to the Itonian Gate in the city wall of southeast Athens shows that Athena Itonia's shrine was in the Archaic civic district of the city, south and east of the Acropolis,[4] and concluded that Athena Itonia "takes her name from the Panathenaic parade of early days," that is, a primitive Panathenaic procession that took place in that district near the Ilissos River,[5] and that the parade moved to the northwest of the city about 600 BC, when, according to a complex set of associations, the festival's torch race began as part of Athens' adoption of the cult of Hephaistos.[6] Nevertheless, while there was probably a primitive form of the Panathenaia, we have no real evidence of the festival before its reorganization as the penteteric Great Panathenaia in 566/565, and there is no evidence at all of a Panathenaic procession in the southeastern region of Athens.[7]

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of giving their gods toponymic names and bynames, a discussion of the interpretation of Arvanitopoulos and a general treatment of the origin of 'Ιτων- names, see above, Chapter One, pp. 18–19, and footnotes 45–46. Less puzzling, unless it implies acceptance of Robertson ideas about the location of the Athenian Itoneion (for which, see below) is Jon Mikalson's (2005, p. 34) inclusion of "Itonia" among the epithets of Athena "which indicated only the location of sanctuaries in Attica." Only in Thessaly is there any evidence that the byname is toponymic in origin.

3 Robertson 1996a, pp. 56–65.

4 See Thuc. 2.15–16. For the ancient city walls and gates of Athens, see Theocharaki 2015; for the city wall gates, see also Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 59–61, 63. For the southeast region of ancient Athens, see Chapter Three and Map 4 of the present work, where the gates of the Themistoklean city wall are designated by Theocharaki's alphanumeral (Θ +number) code and Travlos's system of Roman numerals. For this region of Athens in general, see also Marchiandi et al. 2011.

5 Robertson 1996a, pp. 59–60.

6 Robertson 1996a, pp. 63–65. The complex of associations leading to the idea of Hephaistos' torch race as a concomitant of the transfer of the Panathenaic procession from the southeast of Athens to the Kerameikos region is spelled out in Robertson's lengthy article of 1985. Oddly neither that article on the origins of the Panathenaia nor his major book (1992), half of which is devoted to Athenian religion, including the festival of the Panathenaia, has any of the later revolutionary theses about Athena Itonia and her primitive Panathenaic procession. Among those theses is the claim that the move of the Panathenaic festival to the northwest district of Athens was associated with the shift of the city center there under the tyrants, but even when Hippias was marshaling the Panathenaic procession in the Kerameikos in 514 BC (Thuc. 6.57.1), much of the focus of Athenian civic life was still in its southeastern sector. Civic development began to shift to the northwest sector of Athens with the incorporation of Eleusis in the late-seventh century, but its major movement came with the Kleisthenic constitution and Themistokles' change of the military and commercial ports from Phaleron to the Piraeus area. See above, Chapter Three, pp. 198–199, on the chronology of the Agora northwest of the Acropolis.

7 See J.L. Shear 2001, pp. 507–515, for the well-argued thesis that the earliest attested evidence in the festival's history is its reorganization with the institution of the Great Panathenaia under

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In another publication of 1996 Robertson proposed further connection with Athena Itonia in the Ilissos region by identifying her with Pallas Athena and assigning to this dual Athena a single sanctuary, a Palladion shrine at a site "exactly fixed."[8] The shrine meant is the small Ionic temple illustrated by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett just beyond the Ilissos above Kallirrhoe, where Robertson would displace the currently and commonly assigned Artemis Agrotera.[9] This building, of which only the foundations and retaining wall now survive, was, according to Robertson, the place where the Palladion, the *xoanon* of Pallas Athena, was kept as a talisman of asylum, and where the original lawcourt ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ was established. Among arguments to support this temple as the Palladion shrine Robertson interpreted its fragmentary and controversial frieze as a mythical reference to the homicide court ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ,[10] where, according to legend, Demophon was the first to be tried for homicide.[11] Though determination of the Ilissos temple as "the site of the Palladium exactly"[12] is problematical for more reasons than the obscurity of the frieze and the complication of associated mythology, it

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the archonship of Hippokleides in 566/5 BC and that proof of the importance of that reorganization (p. 507) "is perhaps most clearly seen in the absence of any information about the festival before this date." It is hardly coincidental that the prize Panathenaic Amphorae, an extremely popular form of Athenian pottery first appears at this time; see Parker 1996, p. 89; Papazarkadas 2011, pp. 266–267. The utter absence of evidence of a primitive Panathenaia in the southeast quarter of Athens makes a strong *ex silentio* case.

8 Robertson 1996b, pp. 392–408.

9 Robertson 1996b, pp. 391, 395. For the temple on the Ilissos, see Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 112–120 and figs. 154–163. Marchiandi et al. 2011, pp. 490–494, figs. 270–271. Robertson's identification of the Ilissos temple as the Palladion shrine followed the earlier views of Franz Studniczka (1916, p. 171) and Michael Krumme (1993). Robertson speculatively reassigned Artemis Agrotera to a location about 75 meters southeast of the temple, "at the top of the hill, near the windmill," the site where John Travlos signified the *hieron* of Poseidon Helikonios and a modern ἀνεμόμυλος (*Athens*, figs. 154 and 379, no. 150).

10 Expanding on the interpretations of Studniczka (1916, pp. 173, 192–193) and Hans Möbius (1935–1936 [not 1931], pp. 260–261) Robertson (1996b, pp. 395–398) saw in the frieze an etiological myth of his Palladion court by the Ilissos, i.e., the story of the rape of young Athenian women and the trial and exile of the Pelasgians. Michael Krumme (1993) also saw in the frieze the Palladion, but its arrival in Athens from Troy. More recently, Randall McNeill's (2005, pp. 103–110) and Olga Palagia's (2005, pp. 177–184) analyses of the frieze as largely scenes from the fall of Troy and its aftermath recapitulated earlier views (not including Robertson's), and Palagia observed paradoxically, but probably rightly, that all interpretations of the frieze are perforce arbitrary because of the fragmentary and damaged remains of the reliefs. For the Palladion in relation to Athens and the Athenian law court ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, including the testimonia, see *Agora* XXVIII, pp. 47–48, 97–98, 139–146; *RE* XVIII.3, 1949, cols. 171–179, s.v. Palladion (L. Ziehen); *RE* XVIII.3, 1949, cols. 168–171, s.v. ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ (T. Lenschau).

11 Paus. 1.28.8; Pollux 8.118; Robertson 1996b, pp. 398–408.

12 Robertson 1996b, p. 395; 2001, p. 39.

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is not crucial to the origin of Athena Itonia or the meaning of her byname to review in detail the history of scholarship on this point, or whether there were Palladion shrines both there and in Phaleron, or in which place was the lawcourt ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.[13] For the history of Athena Itonia at Athens, however, it is paramount to address the corollary of Robertson's proposed unity of Pallas and Itonia, namely the proposition that the Ilissos temple was also the sanctuary of Itonia that is inferred from the reference in the Pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* to the Itonian Gate and from the testimonia of Plutarch and Pausanias.[14] Since there is no question of the location of the temple treated by Stuart and Revett, a discussion of the topography may start there. This location would correspond with Robertson's citation of testimony that his Palladion was set up at a bridge,[15] which he identified as the one that must have crossed the Ilissos River at Kallirrhoe, and that the city wall gate he refers to as on the opposite bank could only be the old presumed gate on the site of the Olympieion that led directly to Kallirrhoe.[16] Later Robertson noted explicitly that this is the Itonian Gate, that it was so named because it

13 Re. the location of the lawcourt, Robertson (1996b, pp. 398–408) argued for the court at his Palladion shrine by the Ilissos and viewed the case for the court at Phaleron as due to misunderstandings in the transmission of the sources that attest to that location (Schol. Aeschin. 2.87; Pollux 8.118; Phanodemos *FGrH* 325 F 16; *Lexicum Patmense, s.v.* ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, commentary on Demosthenes 23.71). Cf. *Agora* XXVIII, pp. 47–48, for the cogent point that a location in Phaleron offered the opportunity of immediate exile by sea for a convicted homicide, thereby minimizing the risk of pollution; see the same pages for the hypothesis of two distinct Palladia, the one near Ardettos, not the Ilissos temple but simply a yet unlocated shrine called after Athena's byname Pallas, and the other in Phaleron, the place of homicide trials. From the number, variation, and ambiguity of literary testimonia, archaeological evidence, and arguments of modern scholars it seems fair to say that the number, location, and identifiable architecture of any Palladion shrines or the *dikasterion* ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ are matters still *sub judice*. Also included in this realm of uncertainty are the foundations of a stoa about 100 meters west of the Olympieion (at modern Makri Street), which John Travlos (*Athens*, p. 291, fig. 379, no. 181) identified as remains of the shrine and lawcourt at the Palladion; cf. *Agora* XXVIII, pp. 47–48, 97–98, where it is rightly noted that a stoa, not being open to the sky, would be unsuitable for the Palladion's homicide trials. The same could be said of the Ilissos temple, though the *temenos* may have been more extensive than the *naos*.

14 See also Chapter Three, pp. 171–182, above, for a detailed discussion of these sources and the questions of the locations of the Itonian Gate and its eponymous sanctuary.

15 Robertson 1996b, p. 394 and n. 32: Schol. Aristid. *Panath*. 287 (Antiochus-Pherecydes, *FGrH*, 333 F 4); Serv. *Aen.* II, 166; cf. Lydus, *Mens*. IV, 15. In these testimonia to Pallas Athena and bridges, however, there is no relation to the bridge of the Ilissos at Kallirrhoe.

16 Robertson 1996b, pp. 394–395. For a detailed discussion of the crossing point of the Ilissos near Kalirrhoe and the postulated Themistoklean gate over the road leading southward to the bridge, see above, Chapter Three, pp. 173–177 and footnotes 29–32. See Map 4 with Travlos's Gate X and Theocharaki's (2015, pp. 297–298) designation, "ΠΥΛΗ (;) ΝΟΤΙΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΕΙΟΥ."

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was the processional gate of Athena as both Itonia and Pallas,[17] and that therefore the small Ionic temple beyond the Ilissos was both the Palladion shrine and the sanctuary of Athena Itonia.[18]

It seems clear from the present volume's topographical investigation in Chapter Three of the location of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia and the nearby gate that took her byname, that these two structures cannot be identified with the small Ionic temple above Kallirrhoe and the city gate across the Ilissos in the area of the Olympieion. To prove this, there is no need to go far beyond the chief points of that investigation and the points that have been made in this appendix, points that Robertson's articles for the most part do not address. First of all, the text of Pseudo-Plato's *Axiochus* is strong evidence against the idea that an early counterpart of the gate closest to Kallirrhoe (Map 4, Gate x) was the Itonian Gate, because, since Socrates says in that dialogue that he went back to meet Kleinias and the others at Kallirrhoe, and a road led directly from Kallirrhoe to the gate by the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, it would be illogical for him to say, as he does, after the meeting, "we went quickly on the road along the wall [clearly the ring road adjacent to the city wall][19] as far as the Itonian Gate."[20] Furthermore, there is good evidence to support the current opinion of most topographers that the passage through the city wall near the crossing at Kallirrhoe was the

17 Robertson 2001, p. 39: "The name Ἰτωνία 'processional' is sometimes given to both Athena and the nearby gate." This statement alludes again to the derivation of Ἰτωνία from εἶμι, but this time the procession of the goddess is not the Panathenaic parade (cf., above p. 256), but the procession of the Palladion between Phaleron and the supposed Palladion shrine above Kallirrhoe. For the equation of Athena at the Palladion and Athena Itonia implicit in the preceding quotation, Robertson (2001, p. 52 n. 56) adduced as additional evidence the fact that both goddesses are named ("The names seem interchangeable.") in records of the Treasurers of the Other Gods: *IG* I^3 369 (423/2 BC), lines 73: Ἀθ]εναίας ἐπὶ Παλλαδίοι, 90: Ἀθεναίας ἐπὶ Παλλαδίοι ι; *IG* I^3 383 [not 381], lines 151–152 (429/8 BC): [Ἀ]θεναίας / [Ἰ]τονίας. It must be noted, however, that the treasury record of Athena at the Palladion shrine is inscribed on a different stele dated six years later than that with the entry of Athena Itonia, and that both records include the accounting of other cults of Athena. Therefore these accounts of Athena Itonia and Athena at the Palladion are not evidence that these are the same goddess with different bynames. Such a conclusion is inattentive to Occam's Law of Parsimony.

18 Robertson 2001, pp. 39, 52 and nn. 55 and 56 (where Robertson dissociated the horos inscription, [---Ἀθ]εναίας/---ονείας (*IG* I^3 1049;), from this shrine and agreed with the *Corpus* editors' doubt about the spelling of the byname restored by Benjamin Meritt as Ἰτ]ονείας; on this point cf. above, Chapter Three, pp. 167–168 and footnotes 3–4.

19 For the ring roads that ran next to and parallel to the ancient city wall for defense and movement about the city, see above Chapter Three, pp. 173–174, and footnote 32.

20 Pl. [*Ax.*] 364 a-d: Κλεινίαν ὁρῶ τὸν Ἀξιόχου θέοντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρρόην … ἐδόκει οὖν μοι ἀφεμένῳ τῆς εὐθὺ ὁδοῦ ἀπαντᾶν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ῥᾷστα ὁμοῦ γενοίμεθα … Ὡς δὲ θᾶττον τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ᾔειμεν ταῖς Ἰτωνίαις.

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Diomeian Gate, named for the deme Diomeia that lay just outside it to the south.[21] The road that leads to this gate from the south is the route directly from Sounion and thus rather far east to be the main road from Phaleron, which would be the logical route of Robertson's procession of the Palladion. Therefore the bridge that led to the Itonian Gate was not the one at the Kallirrhoe crossing, but the bridge that crossed the Ilissos about 200 meters farther southwest and led to Gate XI.[22] Thus, the testimonia of Pseudo- Plato, Plutarch, and Pausanias point to an Itonian Gate and its eponymous shrine some distance to the west of Kallirrhoe and the Ionic temple above the Ilissos. From the Itonian Gate the accounts of Plutarch and Pausanias indicate a route inside the city wall that led to the tomb of Antiope and the shrine of Ge Olympia in the west part of the precinct of Olympian Zeus. There is a final point not made in Chapter Three, because it relates specifically to Robertson's idea that Gate X near Kallirrhoe was called the Itonian ("processional") gate with reference to the procession of the Palladion from Phaleron. Since the Ionic temple south of the Ilissos, if it were the Palladion shrine, would have been the terminus of the processional route, that route would not have passed through the "city gate beside an Ilissus bridge", because the bridge at Kallirrhoe was 100 meters farther on to the northwest of the Ionic temple and the postulated gate (X) in the Themistoklean wall was at least another 50 meters beyond that.[23] Finally, since Robertson envisioned the processional route of Itonia / Pallas as predating the Panathenaia of 566 BC, then a gate in the Archaic city wall would have been even farther toward the Acropolis and away from the Ilissos temple,[24] presuming that the temple had an early Archaic predecessor.

Robertson's belief that the byname Ἰτωνία is prototypical in Athens is further implied by his observation that "Athena's epithet *itônia recurs* [my emphasis] in Boiotia and Thessaly." He offered no chronology for the Athenian invention of the Itonian cult,

21 See Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 160–161, 168–169, fig. 219:X; p. 291, fig. 370:X, and (p. 160) the identification of this Gate (X in his scheme) as the Diomeian Gate mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (6.13) in connection with Kynosarges gymnasium in the deme of Diomeia. For the location of the gymnasium, see above, Chapter Three, pp. 199–200.

22 See Map 4, (XI; Θ63) for this postern gate discovered in a trench in front of 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street. See also Theocharaki 2015, pp. 276–279, p. 271, fig. 97, Θ63; ΚΑΘ, p. 370, Θ63, including s.v. Εὑρήματα ὀχύρωσης; folded plan (Θ63). Travlos (*Athens*, 160, 168–169, fig. 219) ultimately identified XI as the Itonian Gate. See also above, Chapter Three, pp. 181–182, for consideration of a 5th century predecessor of the postern at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon Street as the Itonian Gate. This gate also receives a road from Sounion, but one that was far enough westward to be joined by one from Phaleron somewhat south of the city wall. On this road see Billot 1992, p. 123; for stretches of it close to the gate at Iosiph ton Rogon Street nos. 15 and 17, see respectively Costaki 2006, pp. 410–411, for II.69 and II.70, and Kokkoliou 2000, B'1, pp. 78–80.

23 See Travlos, *Athens*, fig. 154.

24 On the Archaic city wall of Athens, see above, Chapter Three, pp. 187–186.

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but this would had to have been early indeed, in order to antedate the cult in Thessaly, where the bona fide sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia shows an unbroken history going back at least to the Geometric, if not the Protogeometric, period.[25] A further indication of Robertson's belief that Athena Itonia originated in Athens as the "processional" goddess and was propagated from there northward is his note that "Processions are depicted on the Boeotian black-figure vases which have been associated with the cult of Athena *itônia* at Koroneia: A. Schachter, 1891, 122."[26] Aside from that fact that the association of these vases with the Boiotian cult at Koroneia is speculative,[27] the obvious question left unanswered is how Athena with the same byname is so much earlier and thoroughly attested in Boiotia and Thessaly but with attributes mainly of military power, and even the apparently unrecognized earlier, but equally unlikely, suggestions there by Arvanitopoulos and Papahatzis of a root of *itônia* in the verb εἶμι / ιτ- , the going of that goddess is not procession, but martial advance.

In the end Robertson may be entitled after his efforts to reject the idea that the cult of Athena Itonia came from Thessaly with the statement, "Ancient theorists predictably said that Athena Itonia came from the place Iton, which they located in Thessaly, forcing-bed of folk migrations; modern theorists of the old school have happily adopted and extended this, so that it takes in even Athens."[28] But the following dismissive sentence ("No refutation is needed."),[29] in presuming cloture of the subject, is too facile a diversion from the wealth of evidence presented in the first three chapters of this book, especially for the precedence and preeminence of the Itonian cult in Thessaly. The implication that scholars, in the face of Robertson's argument should reject *a priori* and *en bloc* all other hypotheses of the origin of the Athenian cult of Athena Itonia is a bold stroke. If refutation is possible, then it is very much needed, for not at all clear is what is meant in this context by, "Thessaly, forcing-bed of migration" and what that has to do with the cult in Athens. So, here I can only guess at the subtext that goes without saying. Robertson's words obviously imply, and correctly so, that prior to his own writing the scholars who have considered the origins of the Itonian cult at Athens have in the main looked to Thessaly as the source. But the only suggestion of an origin that is slightly specific is that implied in Robert Parker's rhetorical question whether the small Athenian shrine of this "un-Attic god of Thessaly" was one of the

25 For the evidence and chronology of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia, see above, Chapter One, pp. 66–78.

26 Robertson 1996a, p. 76 n. 123.

27 See above, Chapter Two, pp. 119–132, for the speculative relation of the scenes on these vases to the cult of Athena Itonia at Koroneia, including putative chthonic elements in the cult.

28 Robertson 2001, p. 52 n. 55.

29 *Ibid.*

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"faint traces of vanished archaic amphictyonies to which Athens had once belonged."[30] As noted above in Chapter Three, that brief suggestion is reasonable and judiciously tentative. It implies the well-known history of Athenian-Thessalian relations, but it has nothing to do with Thessaly as a "forcing-bed of migration." I might guess further that "modern theorists of the old school" refers to scholars such as Preller and Robert and their successors, who have espoused an origin in Thessaly and even in its town of Iton.[31] On the basis of the knowledge of the great antiquity and preeminence of the cult in Thessaly, the number of places, relations, and institutions there cognate with the name Ἰτωνία, and the recurrent diplomatic and military relations of Athens and Thessaly in the Archaic and Classical periods, they did indeed adopt and extend the idea of a Thessalian origin of the cult, "so that it even takes in Athens," but for this proposed transmission of the cult they gave no specific circumstances, and certainly not migration.

There is in fact no evidence of a migration from Thessaly to Athens. Some of the few instances of the names Thettalos, Thessalos, and Thessalikos in Attic prosopography[32] may point to individual immigration of Thessalians to Athens, but most of them are probably due to close connections of Athenian individuals or families with Thessaly.[33] Perhaps "Thessaly, forcing-bed of migration" alluded to some indirect or metaphorical migration that is supposedly related to the beginning of the Itonian cult at Athens. To judge from the Thessalian dialect and legend, the Thessaloi migrated from Epeiros to Thessaly and became devotees of the cult of Itonia, but that migration had no link to Attica. Further evidence of dialect shows that the Boiotians also came from northwest Greece and later in the prehistoric period migrated from Thessaly to their namesake homeland, and legend tells that they brought the Itonian cult with them to Koroneia. That Thessaly-to-Boiotia migration also can have no connection to the cult in Athens, unless one infers it from Strabo's bizarre twist on the history of Boiotia. In an account fraught with mythology and contradicted by linguistics, Strabo writes that the Boiotians were originally driven out of Boiotia by Thracians and Pelasgians, that they settled in Thessaly for a long time, but that later they returned southward to their homeland, and, in union with the Orchomenians, drove the Thracians to Parnassus and the Pelasgians to Athens, where the latter group made their home below

30 Parker 1996, p. 28 and n. 64, for which see the discussion above in Chapter Three, pp. 184.

31 Preller and Robert 1894, vol. 1, p. 86 n. 1, p. 121 n. 3, p. 214 n. 3; see also Farnell [1896–1909] 1977, vol. 1, p. 301.

32 See *PA*, *PAA*, *APF*, and *LGPN*, s.v. Θετταλός, Θεσσαλός, Θεσσαλικός.

33 See above, Chapter Three, pp. 183–201, footnotes 61–133, the argued hypothesis that the cult of Athena Itonia first came to Athens with the Thessalian cavalry allied with Peisistratos, and the probability that his son was named Thessalos to celebrate his father's relations with the Thessalian oligarchs; see also above, p. 185, for Kimon's relations with Thessaly as the eponym of his son Thessalos.

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Mt. Hymettus.[34] Here, at last, is a claim of a migration from Thessaly that leads, though very indirectly, to a migration to Athens, but there is no hint in Strabo's tale that his Pelasgians adopted the cult of Athena Itonia or brought it to Athens. So, Strabo's myth-ridden account is very suspect history, and it contradicts the linguistic evidence that the Boiotians were, like the Thessaloi, Dorians who first migrated to Thessaly, not from Boiotia, but from Epeiros, perhaps taking their name from Mt. Boion in the Pindos range.[35]

To continue guessing what was meant by Thessaly as a "forcing-bed of folk migration" that "takes in even Athens," could it refer to such Attic legends as Deukalion's landing in Athens after the Great Flood and his son Amphiktyon's becoming an Athenian king?[36] It is conceivable that Athenians related in their minds the Thessalian associations of the cults of Deukalion and Athena Itonia in the same southeastern district of Athens. For the Athenian cult of Athena Itonia, however, we have clear epigraphical and topographical evidence from the Classical period as well as the motive and opportunity for its propagation from an old and widely established Thessalian cult, whereas Deukalion and Amphiktyon are figures of Thessalian mythical antiquity that the Athenians, according to later sources, have simply appropriated out of thin air, very likely, as Jacoby suggested, as propaganda to support their claim of autochthony.[37]

As frequently noted in the preceding chapters of this book, even though we cannot in every case know the reason for the propagation of a cult from one region or *polis* to another, where we do know the reasons, they are various. Even though current evidence does not allow a probative case for the circumstances and chronology of the founding of the Itonian cult in Athens, as shown above in Chapter Three, the motive and opportunity that can be inferred from the demonstrable antiquity of the Itonian cult in Thessaly, its close association with the Thessalian cavalry, the alliance of the Peisistratids with the Thessalians, and their employment of Thessalian cavalry in Athens offer a hypothesis for the Athenian foundation of the cult that is far more economical and persuasive than one based on a doubtful etymology, conjectures sometimes presented as fact, and a mass of loosely associated sources. Even moderate scrutiny refutes the views that the cult of Athena Itonia originated in Athens, that her name referred to her history in religious processions, that an original Panathenaic procession took place in southeast Athens, or that Athena Itonia can be identified with Athena at the Palladion. It is hoped that this appendix offers a degree of refutation where it was needed.

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34 Strabo, 9.2.3 (401). See Herodotus 6.137 for an example of the largely folkloric traditions of the Pelasgians in Athens as part of the mythical web of autochthony in Greek prehistory.

35 Bury 1914, vol. 1, p. 60; Edson 1969, p. 42 n. 1; see also above, p. 37 with footnote 116, on the question of Mt. Boion.

36 Jacoby, *Marm. Par.* ep. 4–6; also Paus. 1. 18.7–8.

37 Jacoby, *Marm. Par.* p. 31.

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Illustrations

FIGURE 1 Horos of Athenaia Itoneia, Agora I 7047, American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

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FIGURE 2
Silver obol, Trikka, 440–400 BC, wildwinds.com

FIGURE 3
Silver obol, Perrhaibia, 480–400 BC, ma-shops.com

FIGURE 4
Silver obol, Perrhaibia, 450–400 BC, worthpoint.com; fair use

FIGURE 5
Silver stater, Thessalian League, 2nd half of 2nd c. BC, nomosag.com

FIGURE 6
Bronze assaria, Thessalian League, Emperor Claudius, AD 51–54, wildwinds.com

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FIGURE 7 Archaic bronze statuette of Athena, National Archaeological Museum at Athens

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FIGURE 8
Silver tetartemorion, Pharsalos, 440–425 BC, nomosag.com

FIGURE 9
Silver trihemidrachm, Ainiania, 80–40 BC, dmcaflickr.com; fair use

FIGURE 10
Bronze drachm, Pharsalos, late 5th–mid 4th c. BC, wildwinds.com

FIGURE 11
Silver hemidrachm, Pharsalos, mid–late 5th. c. BC, nomosag .com

FIGURE 12
Bronze obol, Thessalian League, 1st c. BC, cngcoins.com

FIGURE 13
Silver drachm, Pharsalos, late 5th–mid 4th c. BC, forumancientcoins.com

FIGURE 14
Silver obol, Pharkadon, 450–400 BC, wildwinds.com

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FIGURE 15
Silver hemiobol of Krannon, 5th–4th c. BC, nomosag.com

FIGURE 16
Bronze drachm of Orthe, Thessalian League, ca. 360 BC, coinworld.com, fair use

FIGURE 17
Bronze diassion, Thessalian League, M. Aurelius, AD 161–180, ephesusnumismatics.com

FIGURE 18
Silver trihemiobol of Kierion, ca. 400–344 BC, wildwinds .com

FIGURE 19
Silver drachm of Larisa, ca. 370–360 BC, wildwinds.com

FIGURE 20
Silver drachm of Larisa, ca. 410 BC, blogspot.com, fair use

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FIGURE 21
Silver hemidrachm, Panthessalian, 5th c. BC, nomosag.com

FIGURE 22
Silver drachm of Scotussa, 450–400 BC, Aaron Berk, geminiauction.com

FIGURE 23
Silver hemidrachm, Thessaly, ca. 450 BC, apollonumismatics.com

FIGURE 24
Silver obol, Koroneia, ca. 400–350 BC, coinproject.com, fair use

FIGURE 25
Silver stater, Thebes, ca. 425–395 BC, wikiwand.com, free use

FIGURE 26
Silver stater, Thebes, ca. 371–338 BC, ginumismatics.com

FIGURE 27
Silver obol, Thebes, ca. 395–338 BC, wildwinds.com

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FIGURE 28
Silver stater, Thebes, ca. 440–425 BC, wikimediacommons.org

FIGURE 29
Silver stater, Tanagra, early–mid 4th c. BC, EdgarLOwens.com

FIGURE 30
Silver obol, Koroneia, ca. 400–350 BC, coinproject.com, fair use

FIGURE 31
Silver obol, Koroneia, ca. 400–350 BC, coinproject.com, fair use

FIGURE 32
Silver tetradrachm, Athens, 455–449 BC, antiquanova.com, fair use

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